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California JOURNAL

DECEMBER 1992
VOLUME XXIII, NUMBER 12

ELECTION 1992

California Journal's *coverage of the 1992 elections, including results, analyses of races for president, the U.S. Senate, propositions and selected local contests. And finally, the* Journal's *district-by-district analyses of all races for Congress and the state Legislature.*

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Cover Illustration by Mike Tofanelli
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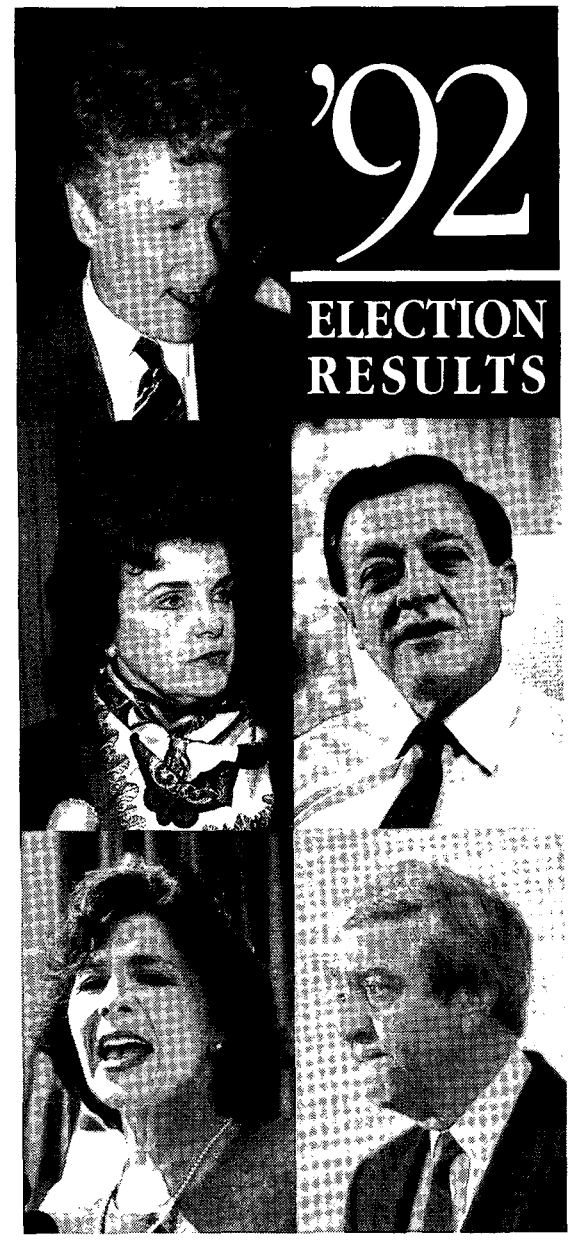

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UP FRONT

Wrong number department. Stung by the narrowest of defeats (800 votes) to Yvonne Burke in the Los Angeles supervisor's race, state Senator Diane Watson must have thought rescue was at hand when she found a post-election message from Little Rock on her answering machine. Seems that Clinton campaign spokesman George Stephanopoulos was calling with a tantalizing question: "Are you still interested in HUD?" Much to the embarrassment of Clinton aides, it turns out that Lily Tomlin's daffy switchboard operator, Ernestine, could not have botched it better. Stephanopoulos thought he was being connected with that other LA liberal with a power base in the inner city — Democratic Congresswoman Maxine Waters. To add insult to injury, Watson and Waters are not exactly the best of friends. Seems Waters backed Burke in the bitterly fought supervisorial contest. When all is said and done, transition-team oddsmakers don't expect Waters to be measuring drapes for a new office. But the *faux pas* may yet yield dividends for the incoming president. Now both Watson and Waters were on somebody's short list.

Once again, it's a free-for-all in North Coast politics thanks to the announcement by Senate Majority Leader Barry Keene that he's resigning. Not only does his 2nd Senate District open up, but the special election to replace him sets off a probable chain-reaction of other special elections throughout Northern California.

But let's start at the beginning...

Keene's election day announcement came as a surprise to many. But those watching him struggle and rail against government gridlock during the recent budget fiasco knew Keene's patience was wearing thin. "I decided to quit politics," said Keene. "I got into it in the first place to make policy. Policy has slowed to such a trickle in the California Legislature it doesn't seem to be worth it. All the major policy decisions are made through the initiative process."

Keene has given 20 years to public service. With a new family and infant son, he has new personal responsibilities. He says the toll exacted on his personal life also played a part in his decision.

Only days after his resignation, the Association for California Tort Reform announced Keene as its new president. His plans are to leave office in December to head the organization. With the Senate seat vacant, a special election must be called in the *old*, pre-reapportionment 2nd District. And with the rearrangements of the old 2nd and 4th districts into a *new*, post-reapportionment 2nd District (not due for its first election until 1994), the scenarios become complicated.

Democratic Senator Mike Thompson, who now represents the *old* 4th, may bid for the vacant seat to preserve his chances for re-election in 1994.

"One thing for sure, he's in a bind," says Ed Matovcik, Thompson's chief of staff. "Three of the counties Mike now represents will be joining with those along the coast to form the new 2nd District that includes Mike's home." He'll have to move for a year-and-a-half if he gambles and succeeds. But Matovcik says that Thompson's going to let his constituents decide. Thompson already has the blessing of the Napa County Democrats and has been meeting with community leaders in Vallejo, as well as in Sonoma and Humboldt counties, but has a struggle ahead to become known to voters in the northern reaches of the district.

Nay-sayers claim this resignation is a ruse designed to hand-pick the successor to the area's Democratic power — Dan Hauser. The Arcata assemblyman has formally declared himself a candidate for the old 2nd District seat and has been anointed by Keene.

"The whole Keene-Hauser scandal is putrid," asserts Bruce Anderson, publisher of the *Anderson Valley Advertiser*. "They act as if it's not prearranged. How naive can people be?" Anderson, who once squared off against Hauser as a Peace and Freedom Party candidate, has since changed his registration back to the Democratic Party.

Anderson claims he will vie for Hauser's seat if it becomes open and if there is not a progressive candidate on the ballot. More likely Democratic candidates include Norman deVall, a Mendocino County supervisor from Elk who's been patiently waiting for a higher office to become vacant for the past umpteen years; Del Norte County Assessor Gerald Cochran; and Humboldt Sheriff David Renner.

Although voter registration in the area is strongly Democratic, third-party registrations have been on the increase in the past decade. Darlene Comingore, a Sonoma County resident who garnered 15 percent of the vote in the 1st Congressional District in 1990, is touted as a likely candidate.

The Republicans' best chance, if any, to pick up Keene's seat is Marge Handley, who got 46 percent against Keene in 1990 and ran ahead of Republican registration in Solano and Humboldt counties. Anna Sparks, who ran against Hauser for Assembly, claims she's not going to run again.

And what about Bev Hansen, who did not seek re-election to the Assembly in 1992 after reapportionment stacked her district with a small army of Democrats?

"I don't live in that Senate seat. I'm more interested in seeing if Mike announces he's running," said Hansen. "If he wins, that sets up a special for Mike's seat." She intended to be involved in the private sector before returning to politics, but with strong family and political ties to the old 4th District, she could resurrect her career — but only if Thompson wins.

If Thompson does win, the next special election to fill that seat may pit Hansen against Assemblyman Stan Statham. "We could be having elections forever," deadpanned Hansen.

— *Linda Dailey Paulson*

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Speaking of special elections, the contest to replace Barry Keene in the 2nd District isn't the only electoral event set for 1993. At least two more special elections will be held early next year in pre-reapportionment districts to fill vacancies in the Senate: in the 16th, because incumbent Republican Don Rogers was elected to represent the *new* 17th District; and the 31st because incumbent Republican Ed Royce was elected to Congress. In addition, there will be a special election in the 32nd Assembly District to replace Democrat Bruce Bronzan, who will resign at the end of this month to become an associate dean of the University of California, San Francisco, School of Medicine.

Meanwhile, the special Senate elections could set up a chain reaction of other special elections filtered across the map. For instance, if either Republican Trice Harvey or Democrat Jim Costa wins Rogers' old 16th District, a special election would be needed to pick a new legislator in their respective Assembly districts. The same holds true in Royce's Orange County district.

Plus, there will be a mayoral election next year in Los Angeles, and at least one legislator — Democratic Assemblyman Richard Katz — has seriously toyed with the notion of running. Should he win, yet another special election would have to be held.

Finally, any number of Californians in Congress have been mentioned as possible appointees to the new Clinton administration. Should, say, Leon Panetta, Maxine Waters or Nancy Pelosi be named to the cabinet, or to some high-level government job, special elections also would be held in their congressional districts, causing some state senators or assemblypersons to consider jumping to the Congress.

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— Thomas Jefferson

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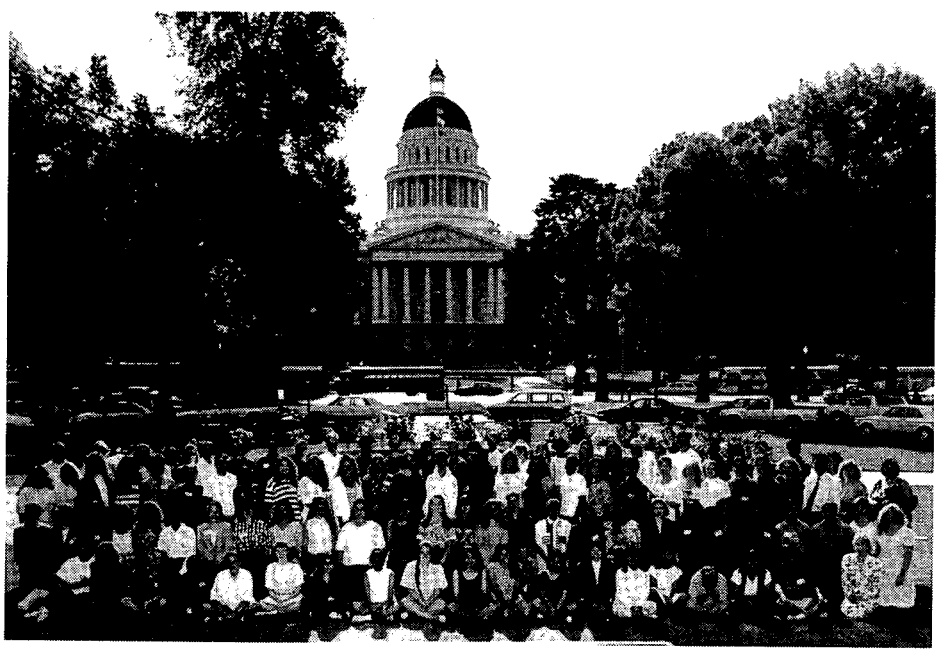

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Presidential

PRESIDENT (49% D - 37% R)

Clinton	**D**	**4,822,875**	**(46%)**
Bush *	R	3,344,317	(32%)
Perot	I	2,148,457	(21%)
Phillips	AI	11,516	(.1%)
Marrou	L	44,449	(.4%)
Daniels	P	17,152	(.2%)

Bill Clinton

After the last vote had been cast, after the last little croak of political babble had fogged the atmosphere, after all the emblems and placards and symbolic junk had disappeared from the landscape, the 1992 election turned out to be one of the most remarkable in California history. It was remarkable for its precedent: two Democratic women from Northern California sent to the United States Senate. But it mostly was remarkable for its irony: California, with its huge cache of 54 electoral votes, was virtually ignored by the presidential campaigns of both major parties, and by that of independent H.Ross Perot.

For California, the last symbolic act of the 1992 presidential election was a metaphor for the state's role in the national campaign: Fourteen minutes before the polls closed in California, ABC News projected that Ohio had clinked into the purse of Democrat Bill Clinton, giving the Arkansas governor enough electoral votes to defeat Republican incumbent George Bush and become president of the United States. Thus, a most unusual and intense three-way presidential free-for-all had been fought out and decided elsewhere.

California had not figured in the presidential campaign. But the presidential campaign in California — or, more precisely, the lack of it — figured a great deal in the fate of many of George Bush's fellow Republicans. His 14-point defeat reverberated straight down through the ticket in California, handing the state's Republican Party a thorough pasting at every level.

Simply put, the presidential race in California ended abruptly not long after the national GOP convention in Houston when the Bush/Quayle re-election campaign decided to bypass the Golden State. It was an astonishing turn of events for a party that had lost California only twice since World War II (in 1948 to Harry Truman and in 1964 to Lyndon Johnson). But the president never appeared west of the Sierra Nevada after October 1st. Vice President Dan Quayle dipped a toe in now and then, mostly in an effort to bolster the campaigns of various congressional candidates. Bush's abandonment meant that his Democratic opponent, Arkansas Governor Bill Clinton, also could ignore California, husbanding his resources and energies for all-out war in key states like Michigan, New Jersey, Texas and Florida. Clinton came here once, in mid-October, to of all places rock-solid Republican Orange County. Independent H. Ross Perot made one of his infrequent campaign stops in California on the Friday before the election, jetting in for brief hi-ya-alls in Long Beach and San Francisco.

In the end, Bush wrote off California because he knew early on that he could not win it. The state's economy was in full recession, and voters, looking to parcel out blame for bad times, had focused squarely on the Bush administration. More important, the recession had hit hardest precisely in those Republican strongholds like Orange, Riverside and San Diego counties that the president had to carry with overwhelming majorities to offset Democratic strength in Los Angeles and in the San Francisco Bay Area. But it also was in those recession-smashed GOP counties that the burgeoning effort on behalf of Perot first took hold in California. For instance, the petition effort aimed at placing Perot on the California ballot pulled nearly as many signatures out of Orange County as Bush did votes in 1988.

To put Orange County in perspective, 90 percent of Bush's statewide margin of victory in 1988 had come from that big stash of GOP partisans. But this past May, the news from Orange County was all bad for the president: Polls showed Perot leading both Bush and Clinton. After Perot pulled out in July, polls in the *Orange County Register* showed Bush and Clinton *even* in the county. Statewide, the news was even worse. At one point, Perot led his two opponents with 38 percent favoring his candidacy. Clinton and Bush were down around 25 percent. With Perot out,

★ ★ ★ KEY ★ ★ ★

D	=	Democrat
R	=	Republican
I	=	Independent
AI	=	American Independent
G	=	Green
L	=	Libertarian
P	=	Peace and Freedom
*	=	Incumbent

(—%) = percent of the vote, rounded to the nearest whole number (causing some district totals to add up to slightly more or less than 100 percent)
winners are listed in boldface type
Source of vote: secretary of state

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much of his support bolted to the Democrat: Clinton vaulted to a 28-point lead in statewide polls; Bush's share stagnated at 25 percent. It remained below 30 percent all the way through the last poll taken in late October.

Thus, the handwriting on the wall for Bush was spray-painted in huge flourescent letters.

Bush ultimately carried Orange County, but his 106,000-vote margin was less than one-third of his majority there in '88. Except for Orange, Bush was beaten in every other important county, including GOP enclaves like San Bernardino, Santa Barbara and Riverside. Bush became the first Republican since Thomas Dewey in 1944 to lose San Diego County. Some GOP observers say that the president's showing overall in California was the worst since Alf Landon's blowout at the hands of Franklin Roosevelt in 1936.

Perot's campaign had contributed handsomely to the debacle by doing well in normally Republican territory: 24 percent in Riverside and Orange counties; 23 percent in San Bernardino; 26 percent in Riverside. The independent also scored 24-plus percent of the vote in many of the small mountain and rural counties that were carried by Bush. On the other hand, Perot did not do well in areas that normally vote Democratic: 9 percent in San Francisco; 16 percent in Alameda; 18 percent in Los Angeles; 19 percent in Santa Cruz.

The Bush campaign's decision to abandon California early in the race reverberated throughout the state's Republican Party. The party was caught off-guard by a huge, statewide Democratic voter-registration drive that saw Democrats add more than 800,000 new voters to their rolls between May and October, besting the Republicans better than two-to-one. More voters registered for minor parties and "declined to state" than registered Republican during that five-month span. One leading Republican legislator laid the blame squarely on the president's doorstep, complaining that the Bush/Quayle campaign sucked money and resources out of the state — money that could have been used to fund voter registration. Ultimately, that voter-registration drive combined with other factors to inflict stinging defeats on Republicans up and down the ticket.

But most of the stings fell on George Bush.

U.S. Senate

SEAT "A" — Short seat (49% D - 37% R)			
Feinstein	**D**	**5,498,087**	**(55%)**
Seymour *	R	3,775,294	(38%)
Horne	P	286,946	(3%)
Meeuwenberg	A	262,708	(3%)
Boddie	L	230,538	(2%)

SEAT "B" — Long seat (49% D - 37% R)			
Boxer	**D**	**4,860,555**	**(48%)**
Herschensohn	R	4,286,060	(43%)
Mc Cready	A	350,644	(4%)
Torres	P	350,102	(4%)
Genis	L	220,035	(2%)

With the presidential race in California a backwater, most of the statewide focus centered on quests for both of the state's seats in the U.S. Senate. The historic dual campaign was made possible when Republican Pete Wilson left the U.S. Senate in January 1991 to become California governor — with half of his six-year term left to serve. By law, he was allowed to appoint a successor, who could serve only until the next statewide election when the appointee had to run for the remainder of Wilson's term. Hence, the pursuit of Wilson's old "A" seat became known as the "short seat" because the winner could serve only two years before having to run again for a full six-year term.

Feinstein

Seymour

But 1992 also was the year that the state's other Senate seat — the "B" seat — was due for election. It had been held for the past 24 years by Democrat Alan Cranston who, beset by health and ethics problems, decided not to seek re-election. Because Cranston's successor would serve six years, the race to replace him became known as the "long seat."

First, the "short seat." When Wilson resigned from the Senate, he appointed in his place John Seymour, a state legislator and former mayor of Anaheim. The appointment both surprised and angered many of Wilson's Republican critics who felt that the governor had bestowed a political mega-plum on someone who did not have vote-getting ability to hold onto the job.

The critics proved correct, painfully so for both Wilson and Seymour, for the contest was over almost before it began. Seymour was a little-known lawmaker prior to his appointment, and he never succeeded in enhancing his stature once he moved to Washington. Hard working but lacking charisma, Seymour never seemed to establish himself in the big leagues. Not that he had much of a chance; a junior Republican senator in a house dominated by Democrats wasn't going to make much of a splash in 11 short months.

To his misfortune, Seymour drew as an opponent one of the most well-known Democrats in California: Dianne Feinstein, the former mayor of San Francisco who had barely lost the governorship to Wilson in 1990. Buoyed by wide support among women and by the afterglow from her near-miss gubernatorial campaign, Feinstein declared for the seat only days after Wilson made the appointment, then sprinted to an early lead in the polls, took to the high ground for her campaign and coasted to a convincing victory. With precious little to distinguish the two candidates on the issues, Seymour was forced from the outset to attack Feinstein's character, hammering away at charges that she had misreported several

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Boxer *Herschensohn*

million dollars in contributions for her gubernatorial war chest in 1990. But the question of when and how campaign contributions are reported is murky at best to most voters — technical stuff that most simply don't care about — and Seymour's cannonades clanked harmlessly against the fortress of Feinstein's lead in the polls. In the end, he was reduced to portraying her as soft on crime — a liberal who once paroled murderers (thanks to her stint on the state parole board back in the 1960s). But the Willie Horton-ish attacks were viewed as desperate and false. The pair raised and spent about the same amount of money (Feinstein raised a shade over $7 million and spent a shade under $7 million; Seymour raised $6.3 million and spent all of it).

Because of the special nature of this election, Feinstein was sworn into office almost immediately. And almost immediately she attracted her first opponent for 1994 — Republican William Dannemeyer, the Orange County conservative who gave up his congressional seat this year to challenge Seymour in the June primary. Dannemeyer won't be alone; congressmen Bob Dornan and David Dreier are reportedly interested.

The more interesting of the two Senate campaigns was the race for California's "long seat." The two antagonists were Republican television commentator Bruce Herschensohn of Los Angeles and Democratic Congresswoman Barbara Boxer of San Francisco, and two more diverse opponents could not have been found, giving voters a clear choice between a hard-core, unrepentent, anti-Communist conservative and a throw-back liberal.

For his part, Herschensohn seemed out of step with just about everything political in California — as "politically *un*-correct" a candidate as has been coughed up by a California political party since Republicans H.L. Richardson and Max Rafferty sought Senate seats in the 1960s and 1970s. An extreme conservative, he favored off shore oil drilling, opposed any form of gun control, wanted to keep spending zillions on defense and was anti-abortion. As a result, when the campaign kicked off around Labor Day, Herschensohn found himself down 20 points in the polls.

Yet, the silver-haired conservative came within an eye blink of getting himself elected. First, thanks to his years on LA television, he was far better known in vote-rich Southern California than was Boxer, an obscure congresswoman from the north. Second, he ran a far more effective campaign than did Boxer. Far from trying to hide his stands on the issues, Herschensohn flaunted them. But more important, he went after his opponent with a series of television ads that defined Boxer on his terms. Starting in late September, he revelled in her negatives: 143 bounced checks at the House bank; her tag as Congress' biggest spender by a conservative taxpayers' organization; her liberal voting record.

Boxer responded with a long silence, and her lead in the polls disintegrated. When she did join the campaign, she failed to shift the focus away from her opponent's attacks. In person and in her own television ads, the Marin County lawmaker appeared strident, compared with the mellow-voiced Herschensohn. And her attempts to show Herschensohn's extremism actually played into his hands, for Herschensohn never tried to hide his views, and Boxer's commercials only seemed to give him free publicity.

Herschensohn began the campaign by planting his banner on the right. Boxer attempted to occupy both the left and the center, but Herschensohn's media blitz tore her away from the center. By trumpeting her bounced checks and the perks of office she enjoyed, he also attempted to dispel the notion that she was an outsider. On the other side, Herschensohn was distracted during the campaign's final dizzy days by allegations that he frequented a Los Angeles club that featured nude dancing, and by charges that he regularly shopped for pornography at a local newsstand. At the same time, Boxer appeared around the state arm-in-arm with her "running mate" — Feinstein — and took advantage of Feinstein's and Democratic presidential candidate Bill Clinton's standing with voters. As the campaign entered the final weekend, Herschensohn's month-long surge hit a wall while Boxer regained just enough momentum to nose ahead at the wire.

Both candidates had more than enough money to fuel

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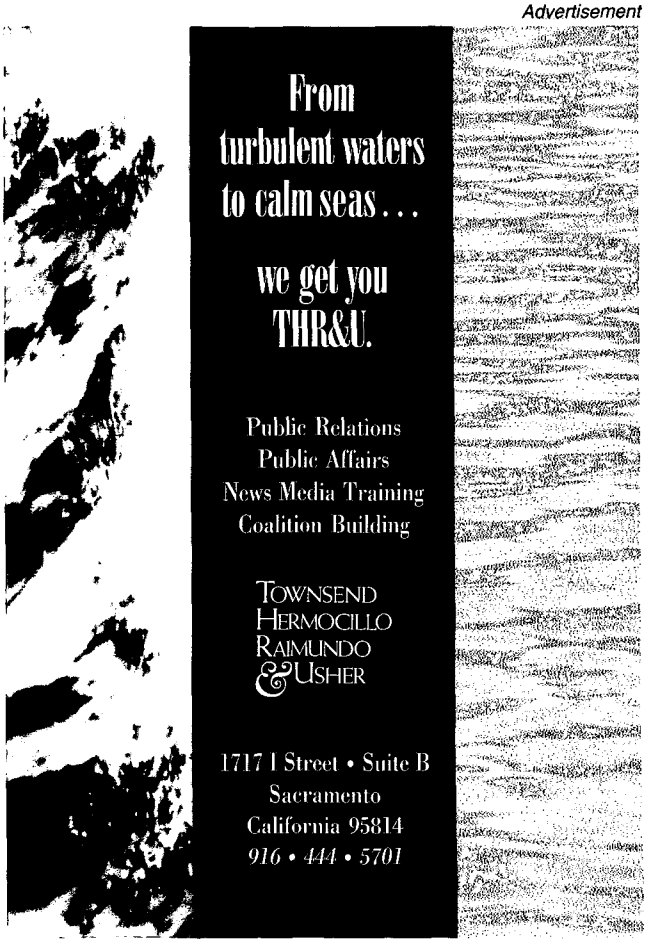

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their efforts. According to federal campaign finance reports, Boxer raised and spent more than any other candidate for the U.S. Senate — $8.79 million in receipts; $8.53 million in expenditures. Herschensohn wasn't far behind, with $6.11 million raised and $5.65 million spent.

Boxer triumphed in this hard-fought contest, and it may have been the extra oomph provided her campaign by the Democrats' aggressive voter-registration effort, coupled with her standing among women as pro-choice, that flung her over the top. In addition, many moderate voters — faced with an uncomfortable choice of the left or right — once again rejected the right. As a result, Boxer's victory was razor-thin, especially considering the large majorities accorded to Feinstein and to Clinton. Her home turf around San Francisco Bay was particularly kind to Boxer, with the six-county area voting for her two-to-one (1,265,684 to 604,256). That, coupled with the 347,301-vote margin given her by Los Angeles County, more than offset Herschensohn's strength throughout the rest of the state.

Propositions

Voters rejected eight of 13 ballot measures this fall, continuing a trend of defeating the majority of propositions put before them. The 95 remaining employees of the state auditor general's office may have felt the results most keenly: They received 30-day layoff notices the day after voters rejected Proposition 159, a measure designed to shield that office from budget cuts. Also bracing to receive layoff notices are the 44 remaining employees of the state legislative analyst's office, which could suffer a similar fate with the failure of Proposition 158. The two agencies, which expose government waste, have saved taxpayers more than $500 million in the past decade with their investigations and recommendations. Opponents of the two measures argued that if the Legislature would only cut out some of its perks, money would be available to continue financing the two agencies.

California might have been the only place in the world with a law explicitly allowing doctors to help terminally ill patients commit suicide, but voters rejected Proposition 161. Two doctors would have had to certify the patient's medical condition, and two disinterested adults would have had to witness the written request by the patient. But measure opponents — including the Catholic Church and the California Medical Association — waged a successful campaign to convince voters that the plan didn't have adequate safeguards, such as a waiting period immediately after hearing news of a terminal illness. Members of the pro-euthanasia Hemlock Society, a key supporter of the measure, said their plan would have given patients control over when to end their lives if they faced severe pain and suffering from a terminal illness, ending an era of "the doctor knows best."

Voters also rejected Proposition 165, Governor Pete Wilson's plan to cut welfare and assume new budget powers. It might have passed, but businesses and corporations that favored it were distracted by Proposition 167, the so-called "tax the rich" initiative. They spent more than $10 million to defeat Proposition 167, money that probably otherwise would have gone to support Proposition 165. Proposition 167 supporters — including the California Tax Reform Association and public employee unions — acknowledged that their chief objective was to torpedo Proposition 165. They also said that if the governor was going to try to help solve the state's budget problems by cutting welfare benefits, they were going to try to solve them by reforming the tax system by raising taxes on the rich and on large corporations.

As often happens with complicated measures, voters nixed both, rejecting the welfare measure 54-to-46 and the tax measure 58-to-42. Wilson said his initiative was defeated because opponents succeeded in presenting it as a "power grab," while opponents said that it lost because voters had compassion for the poor.

Voters also defeated Proposition 166, a plan that would

★ ★ ★ PROPOSITION RESULTS ★ ★ ★

Proposition 155 (school bonds)			**Proposition 159 (auditor general)**			**Proposition 163 (snack tax)**		
Yes	5,096,399	(52%)	Yes	3,777,405	(42%)	Yes	6,447,163	(66%)
No	4,712,988	(48%)	No	5,268,796	(58%)	No	3,320,923	(34%)
Proposition 156 (rail bonds)			**Proposition 160 (property tax)**			**Proposition 164 (term limits)**		
Yes	4,621,109	(49%)	Yes	4,930,445	(52%)	Yes	6,034,849	(62%)
No	4,915,818	(51%)	No	4,646,189	(49%)	No	3,629,012	(38%)
Proposition 157 (toll roads)			**Proposition 161 (assisted death)**			**Proposition 165 (welfare)**		
Yes	2,776,476	(29%)	Yes	4,557,037	(46%)	Yes	4,507,190	(46%)
No	6,688,096	(71%)	No	5,342,956	(54%)	No	5,250,125	(54%)
Proposition 158 (legislative analyst)			**Proposition 162 (PERS)**			**Proposition 166 (health care)**		
Yes	3,718,109	(41%)	Yes	4,737,215	(51%)	Yes	3,149,169	(32%)
No	5,426,219	(59%)	No	4,550,805	(49%)	No	6,720,128	(68%)
						Proposition 167 (tax the rich)		
						Yes	4,079,738	(42%)
						No	5,663,124	(58%)

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have required employers to provide health insurance. Opponents (mainly insurers, employers, and consumer advocates) outspent supporters (largely the California Medical Society) seven-to-one. They said voters defeated the measure because it represented a piecemeal approach to solving the problems of the medically uninsured, and because they mistrusted the motives of the medical association. Proponents said the measure lost because of claims that it would cost the state jobs.

California was one of 14 states to overwhelmingly approve congressional term limits, and proponents of Proposition 164 boasted that in each of the 14 states except Arkansas, the term-limit measures got more votes than President-elect Bill Clinton. Colorado, the first state to vote on term limits, approved them in 1990. In Florida, where a term limit measure passed this year with 77 percent, opponents of the measure already have filed a federal lawsuit challenging it. They say that in 1967, the Supreme Court ruled that qualifications for Congress — such as citizenship, age and residency — are set out in the U.S. Constitution, and the states can't change them. Term limit supporters say that the Constitution allows states to determine the time, place and manner of elections, and that means states *may* set term limits. In two states that passed the measures, Missouri and Washington, the limits would not apply until other states adopt term limits.

The measure getting the most "yes" votes was Proposition 163, which repeals the state tax on snacks and bottled water. Proposition 160, a constitutional amendment permiting the Legislature to give property tax exemptions to surviving spouses of those who die while on active military duty, whether or not they were drafted, passed, as did Proposition 155, the school bond measure, and Proposition 162, which prevents the Legislature from taking money from the public employee and teacher retirement systems to balance the state budget. A $1 billion rail bond measure to help finance an expansion of rail transit in the state failed, and Proposition 157 — which would have set a 35-year time-limit for private companies (that built private highways to allow land developments) to collect tolls for road maintenance costs, after which those costs would revert to taxpayers — failed.

Local Elections

Los Angeles County

The retirement of venerable Los Angeles County Supervisor Kenneth Hahn opened up the prospect for an African-American politician to be elected to the board. And two well-know women — state Senator Diane Watson and attorney and former Congresswoman Yvonne Braithwaite Burke — were the best-known the of the contenders. The pair ended up in a run-off, and the final election outcome went down to the wire. Both candidates had similar positions on the issues, so the election in large measure came down to a question of personality. Watson has a more confrontational style, aggressive in the mind of some but abrasive in the mind of others, compared to Burke, who served briefly on the board after being appointed to it by former Governor Jerry Brown. In the wake of the Los Angeles riots, which were centered in this supervisorial district, both women worked hard to demonstrate their commitment to the community. Many observers felt that the election would ultimately be decided not by the minority-group voters in the district, but by the substantial white population, much of it Jewish. That fact was thought to benefit Burke. When the counting was done on election day, Burke was out in front by fewer than 800 votes, but as many as 40,000 absentee ballots were still uncounted. As the tally progressed, Burke's lead apparently widened. There were, however, allegations of voter fraud, and the Watson forces were considering the possibility of seeking a recount.

The second contest was a mud bath between incumbent Deane Dana and challenger Gordana Swanson. She forced Dana into a run-off then hammered at the incumbent for enjoying the perks of the job and for failing to do anything to rein in the county pension system. Dana billed himself as a born-again expense cutter and countered by saying that Swanson, a Rolling Hills councilwoman, failed to support property tax-slashing Proposition 13. Dana won, collecting 56 percent of the vote.

LA County voters also turned down two ballot measures designed to reform county government. They rejected by a substantial were Measure B, which would have created an elected "county mayor" to be the county's top elected officials, and Measure C, which would have expanded the size of the Board of Supervisors from five to nine.

San Diego mayor

In one of the most hotly contested mayoral elections in recent memory, San Diego County Supervisor Susan Golding narrowly defeated UC Irvine professor Peter Navarro in a contest noted for both its ferocity, expense and level of nastiness between the two warring camps. Golding took 52 percent of the vote, Navarro 48 percent. The race had been considered a toss-up down to the final days before the election. In June, Navarro had finished first with 38 percent in a five-way primary, with Golding at 31 percent. That forced a run-off that turned into the most expensive local election in San Diego history; more than $1.5 million was spent between the two. Navarro, who rose to prominence as an advocate of controlled growth, pumped more than $550,000 into his own campaign, while Golding raised all of her war chest from private donors, almost half of it from real-estate and developmental interests. The race had been billed as the "outsider" (Navarro) against the "insider" (Golding). And although issues related to San Diego's future found their way into debates between the two candidates, they differed little on how to govern the state's second largest city. As a result, the campaign focused on the two personalities involved — and therefore degenerated into the slime during the final, critical weeks. Navarro, especially, departed from the high road with a series of 11th-hour ads linking Golding to her former husband, Richard Silberman, who is doing time in federal prison after being convicted of money laundering. The Navarro camp tried to insinuate that Golding herself must have known about Silberman's activities, even though she had nothing to do with his businesses. On the other side, Golding accused Navarro of accepting a $1000 contribution from pornographers (money he returned), and of planning to raise local taxes.

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The revolution of 1992: How candidates used the media

By Steve Swatt

On election night, even before the polls had closed on the West Coast, the vanquished billionaire strode to the podium in a Dallas hotel ballroom and scooped the networks. Ross Perot declared Democrat Bill Clinton the victor a full 15 minutes before the electronic pundits colored in the map of Ohio — the state that put Clinton over the top.

"Is this the end or is this just the beginning?" he asked his supporters.

It was both — the end of Perot's quixotic adventure and the beginning of a new age of political communications, a revolution in which candidates bypass print and network journalists in favor of direct, unfiltered messages to the people.

From Perot's half-hour "infomercials," which attracted huge ratings, to talk shows and town hall meetings, this year's presidential candidates took advantage of the so-called "alternative media" to connect with the voters.

And it's likely that national political campaigning won't be the same from now on. We can expect interactive television to be a significant tool in the future. Donahue, Oprah, Larry King, even Arsenio Hall had access to the candidates that the political press corps could only dream about.

Even President George Bush, (yes, the same president who said, "I'm not going to be a teeny-bopper at 68.") finally realized that his best path to the youth vote was through MTV.

But the president couldn't match the adroitness of his two adversaries. He complained about the press but insisted that debates be held with reporters. During the second encounter, when the candidates went *mano-a-mano* with real people -- not journalists — Bush seemed befuddled at times. He glanced at his watch as if he couldn't wait for Air Force One to fly him out of town. Perhaps it was because the audience didn't buy into his campaign themes of family values and trust (exit polls indicated that a mere 14 percent of the electorate considered trust the most important campaign issue).

Clinton, meanwhile, is this nation's first president who came of age and developed politically as television grew in stature and influence. Clinton handled that second debate like a polished talk show host, dipping into the audience, asking questions of his questioners and relating to their problems. One almost expected him to finish an answer, turn to the camera and "cue spot," as it's called in TV parlance. "We'll be back after this important commercial announcement," he might have said.

Clinton, of course, will find out quickly that it's easier to win the presidency than to make it work. He will be well-served if he continues to take advantage of this new communications format, in much the same way that Franklin Roosevelt used radio. By venturing outside the Washington Beltway every once in a while, he just might find out what the rest of America is thinking.

And what's wrong with going on MTV again? If that's what the 18- to-24 year-old crowd is watching, that's how you get through to them. Sending hit pieces to the college dorm probably won't help much.

Several years ago, journalist Hunter S. Thompson, in one of his tirades against television, referred to the TV business as "some kind of cruel and shallow money trench through the heart of the journalism industry ... which is also the biggest real business around and impossible to ignore. You can't get away from TV. It is everywhere. The hog is in the tunnel."

Thompson may not have foreseen a 68-year-old Republican president chatting with teeny-boppers on MTV, but he knows a communications revolution when he sees one. According to a recent study by the Times Mirror Center, 83 percent of those polled say they relied on television for most of their campaign information. Like it or not, to win elections these days it takes solid communications skills, as well as huge campaign staffs, attack ads and piles of cash.

When historians look back on the election of 1992, they might note that it ushered in a new genre of politicking — and, perhaps, governing as well.

Steve Swatt formerly worked for KCRA-TV, Sacramento, as political correspondent. He currently is executive vice president of Nelson & Lucas Communications.

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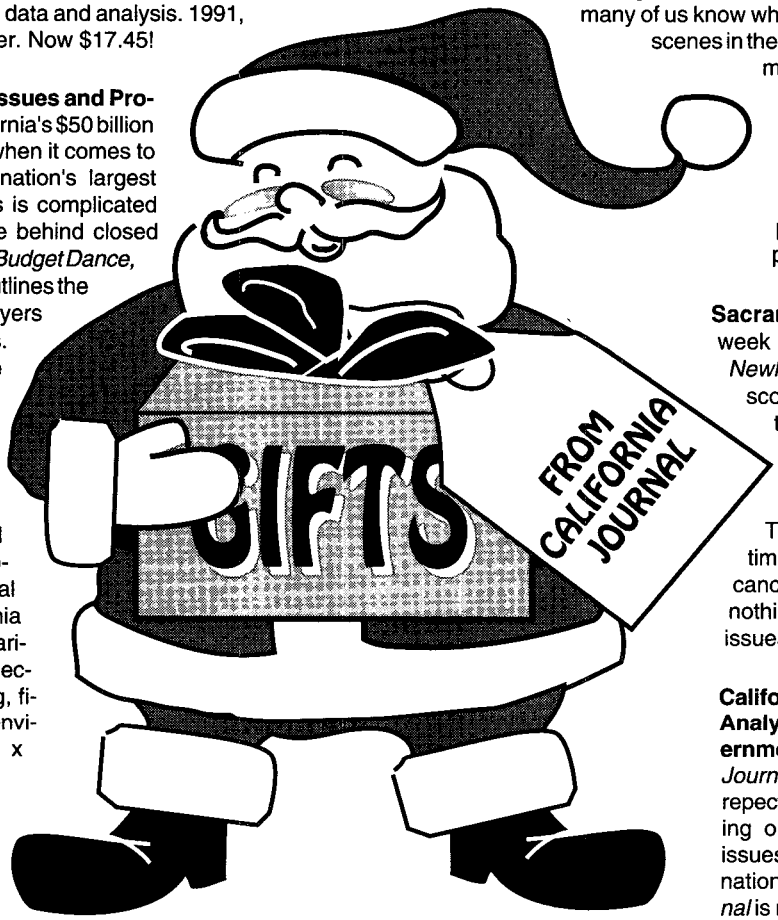

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DISTRICT-BY-DISTRICT ANALYSIS

CONGRESS

The high water mark of the Democratic flood occurred in the races for Congress. This was supposed to be the year when Republicans finally got to make up ground lost 10 years ago when the late Phil Burton so cleverly drew district lines that Democrats managed to hold a commanding lead in the then-45-member delegation for the entire decade. But the new district lines were drawn by the state Supreme Court, a court dominated by appointees of Republican Governor George Deukmejian. Before Election Day, Democrats held 26 House seats and Republicans 19. After election day, Republicans guessed, things would be different. They expected to win, perhaps, five of the seven new seats created along with reapportionment and to capture several existing seats held by Democrats as well. An even spilt of the new 52-member delegation looked easy. A Republican majority was possible.

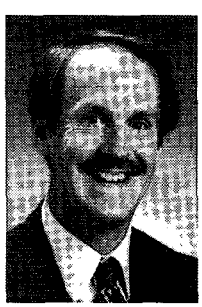
Republicans hadn't bargained on the fact that Californians, mired in a recession that, for the first time since World War II was worse here than in the rest of the country, were going to blame a government headed by the GOP at both the state and federal level. While the state was giving the largest portion of its vote to a Democratic candidate for president, the first time that's happened since Lyndon Johnson in 1964, it was also electing Democrats further down the ticket. When the counting was done, Democrats had increased their number to 30, an addition of five seats. Republicans had added only two to give them 22.

And it could have been worse. There were two House seats where registration was close enough that Democrats, even in a non-sweep year, could have won. As it was, no incumbent Democrats were defeated although one, Rick Lehman of Sanger, had a narrow escape. One Republican incumbent, one-termer Frank Riggs from the northern coast, was turned out.

Some of the victories were truly astounding. For instance, Democrat Lynn Schenk won by 10 percentage points in a San Diego district where Democrats claim only 39 percent of the registered voters. But Republicans did have a bright spot or two. Richard Pombo managed to beat Patti Garamendi, wife of the state's insurance commissioner, in a district where Democrats have a 14 percent registration edge — a Democratic loss that can only be attributed to the fact that Patti Garamendi, now losing for the third time, is not a very attractive candidate. And the GOP also won with moderate Steve Horn in southern Los Angeles County in a district that for years had been represented by Democrat Glenn Anderson.

But for the most part, Republicans have to be off licking their wounds someplace, waiting for the floodwaters to recede and for another election day.

Hamburg



Riggs

DISTRICT 1 (52% D - 33% R)

Hamburg	**D**	**114,151**	**(48%)**
Riggs *	R	106,807	(45%)
Baldwin	P	10,278	(4%)
Howard	L	7,152	(3%)

The North Coast toppled one-term Republican incumbent Frank Riggs and elected former Mendocino County Supervisor Dan Hamburg by a slim margin. Hamburg, a rare breed of challenger who raised more money than the incumbent ($431,000 to Riggs' $353,000, much of it from music events), spent the final days of the campaign in the southern portion of the far-flung district, assuring workers at Mare Island that he did not, as he said his opponent alleged, plan to close down the naval shipyard or Travis Air Force Base. Riggs, who turned out to be one of just 24 incumbent congressman in the country defeated in November, spent the last few days of the campaign passing out checks to charities to combat charges that he broke an earlier campaign pledge to forego a congressional pay raise by giving the money to charities. (Out of the $35,000 pay raise, Riggs gave about half to charity in 1991 and another $14,000 was withheld as tax payments, an amount that critics said could also have been given to charities.) Hamburg, whose own polls showed him trailing by nine points a month before Election Day, fired his campaign management team two weeks before the election to add "punch" to the campaign. A liberal who nine months ago was virtually unknown outside of Mendocino County (where he was a one-term supervisor), Hamburg, 43, campaigned full-time after being laid off at a print shop; for a time he received unemployment benefits. While Riggs' vote ran 12 percent ahead of Republican registration (compared to Hamburg, who ran 4 percent behind Democratic registration), he didn't benefit as he did in 1990 from significant Democratic defection to the Peace and Freedom Party candidate.

DISTRICT 2 (44% D - 42% R)

Herger *	**R**	**155,145**	**(65%)**
Freedman	D	66,680	(28%)
Pendery	L	16,332	(7%)

Three-term incumbent Wally Herger (who served three terms in the Assembly before being elected to Congress), had no trouble defeating Elliot Freedman, a Chico attorney and former deputy district attorney in Los Angeles.

DISTRICT 3 (49% D - 38% R)

Fazio *	**D**	**117,027**	**(51%)**
Richardson	R	91,865	(40%)
Crain	L	19620	(9%)

Incumbent Democrat Vic Fazio, the fifth-ranking member of the House and a possible future speaker, safely overcame one of the toughest election challenges in

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Fazio

Richardson

Doolittle

Malberg

Woolsey

Filante

his 14-year congressional career by defeating H.L. Richardson, a former state senator. But Fazio had to do more than just win: Observers say he needed just about what he got to discourage future heavy-duty challenges in this district, where reapportionment dropped Democratic registration from 52 percent. Fazio raised $1.6 million for his race, ranking him fourth in the United States (and second in California, after Michael Huffington) in fund raising for House races. Richardson raised $642,058 to mount his challenge, placing him sixth (again, second after Huffington in California) among all House challengers in the country, according to preliminary funding reports. Both candidates — Fazio is 50, Richardson is 64 — are experienced campaigners, and the race came down to Fazio branding Richardson an "extremist" with a Southern California-brand of conservatism who missed a tidy sum of votes while he served 22 years as a state senator. Richardson responded that he's no carpetbagger; he moved to Northern California when he was elected and his three children attended grade school and high school in Loomis (near Sacramento), which is in the district he had hoped to represent. In addition, he said, the votes he missed (14,121, by Fazio's count) were on noncrucial or consent calendar measures. He in turn called Fazio the "Prince of Perks" because Fazio is chairman of the subcommittee that decides how much Congress spends on itself. He also said that according to a *USA Today* survey, Fazio was rated the number-one spender on his own office. Fazio responded that the *USA Today* survey was unfair because he and other West Coast members have to travel farther from the Capitol to their districts, and said the upcoming, $35,000 annual salary increase came in the form of a reform package that eliminated honorariums and placed limits on gifts and outside income for members of Congress.

DISTRICT 4 (42% D - 45% R)

Doolittle *	**R**	**125,539**	**(50%)**
Malberg	D	116,139	(46%)
McHargue	L	11,335	(5%)

Incumbent John Doolittle once again outsmarted the pundits who swore that this brash, young, one-term Republican's political career — punctuated by episodes of underhanded dealing (that resulted in fines by the Fair Political Practices Commission) and, more recently, hypocrisy in connection with congressional perks — would finally be derailed. But challenger Patricia Malberg, a community college French teacher who came within 2 percent of beating Doolittle in 1990, was defeated once again. Write-in candidate Don Brooksher, a former law enforcement official who gained nearly 30 percent of the vote in the Republican primary while only spending about $2000, and said one of his main reasons for mounting a write-in campaign was to sink Doolittle, got about 5500 votes. Some Malberg supporters blamed her insistence on running a "grass-roots campaign" without benefit of a professional consultant for her loss, and say her television ads were not just tired-sounding, they were anemic. Malberg made little of the fact that Doolittle, who boasted he was a fiscal conservative bent on reforming Congress, produced a wish-list his first month in Congress for perks that would match those for California legislators, such as cars, meals and moving expenses. Nor did she dwell long on the fact that the National Taxpayers Union ranked him first in spending on "free mail" to constituents for the last 15 months.

DISTRICT 5 (59% D - 30% R)

Matsui *	**D**	**151,558**	**(69%)**
Dinsmore	R	55,428	(25%)
Mors	A	4,508	(2%)
Rufer	L	4,337	(2%)
Harter	G	4,147	(2%)

Robert Dinsmore is an interesting, quirky man, if not a successful congressional candidate. A graduate of Stanford with a doctorate in mathematics, he for a time owned a bookstore in the Arden Fair shopping mall in Sacramento, but sold it after seven years when bookstore chains moved into the mall. He also is writing a book that has touches on the four levels of morality in tax policy, but voters rejected his severe conclusions (or perhaps never heard them — Dinsmore ran a shoestring campaign) and re-elected Matsui to an eighth term.

DISTRICT 6 (55% D - 30% R)

Woolsey	**D**	**178,445**	**(66%)**
Filante	R	90,751	(34%)

Democrat Lynn Woolsey had two things to celebrate on Election Day: her 55th birthday and a comfortable victory over ailing Assemblyman Bill Filante. Woolsey, a Petaluma councilwoman who not too long ago bought groceries with food stamps and paid her doctor with Medi-Cal as the unemployed single mother of three young children, now is a successful businesswoman who campaigned as the candidate who understood poverty. Filante, a popular, well-respected leader who represented much of this North Bay district as a seven-term assemblyman, quit actively campaigning in August after surgery for a brain tumor.

DISTRICT 7 (62% D - 24% R)

Miller *	**D**	**147,860**	**(71%)**
Scholl	R	52,237	(25%)
Franklin	P	9,491	(5%)

Although they did not live in the 7th Congressional District, which covers the north and east Bay Area, farmers from throughout the Central Valley wanted very badly to see school development director David Scholl defeat 10-term incumbent George Miller. The farmers were angry that Congress passed Miller's bill overhauling the Central Valley water project (and reducing their agricultural water subsidies), so they donated nearly $50,000 to Scholl's campaign, or 95 percent of all his contributions.

DISTRICT 8 (64% D - 16% R)

Pelosi *	**D**	**182,564**	**(83%)**
Wolin	R	24,064	(11%)
Cadabes	P	7,192	(3%)
Elwood	L	7,162	(3%)

Nancy Pelosi is one of several state Democrats who are expected to play key roles in Washington now that Bill Clinton's been elected president. Pelosi, who co-chaired the Democratic platform committee and was an early Clinton supporter, is rumored to be a possible Cabinet appointee. She is one of seven women in the 52-member California delegation.

DISTRICT 9 (69% D - 14% R)

Dellums *	**D**	**154,112**	**(68%)**
Hunter	R	63,676	(28%)
Linn	P	9,740	(5%)

Ron Dellums, who represents Berkeley and Oakland, also could see his fortunes change now that Bill Clinton is about to occupy the White House. If

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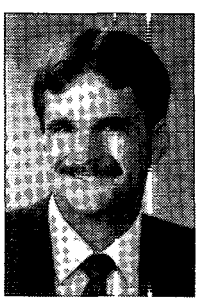
current House Armed Services Committee chairman Les Aspin of Wisconsin is chosen to be Clinton's secretary of defense or national security adviser, the next in the seniority pecking order to chair the Armed Services Committee are Florida Congressman Charles Bennett, who is retiring; Dellums; and Mississippi Congressman Sonny Montgomery. Montgomery, who already chairs the Veterans Affairs Committee, has told Dellums he doesn't want to give up that seat to run the Armed Services Committee.

DISTRICT 10 (42% D - 44% R)

Baker	**R**	**137,313**	**(52%)**
Williams	D	128,942	(48%)

Democrat Wendell Williams edged closer to victory against his old foe this year than in 1990, but nevertheless proved again that he's no match for the controversial Bill Baker, who's represented the general area of this East Bay congressional district as an assemblyman since 1980. Williams, who snagged 45 percent of the vote in the 1990 Assembly race against Baker when district Democratic registration was 37 percent, this year got 48 percent when Democratic registration was a more favorable 42 percent. Williams' strategy of replaying some of Baker's more choice lines — such as calling welfare mothers "breeders" — and attacks on his right-wing ties apparently weren't enough to shake the confidence of a majority of voters in Baker.



Pombo

Garamendi

DISTRICT 11 (52% D - 38% R)

Pombo	**R**	**82,911**	**(47%)**
Garamendi	D	82,006	(46%)
Roberts	L	12,331	(7%)

The far-right gained a voice in this district where 31-year-old rancher and Tracy Councilman Richard Pombo won by just a handful of votes (out of about 165,000 cast) over Patti Garamendi, a former Peace Corps volunteer and rancher with a law degree. Pombo apparently had struck a nerve here by pounding on Garamendi for raising much of her money outside the district, including from the producer of musician Ice T, writer of the song "Cop Killer." Garamendi, who raised more than twice as much as Pombo, and who was better-known in the district because of her two previous runs for legislative office and the visibility of her husband, state Insurance Commissioner John Garamendi, remained hopeful for nearly a week after the election. Before absentee ballots were counted, she was about 900 votes short of Pombo's total. But then the absentee ballots were counted.

DISTRICT 12 (56% D - 28% R)

Lantos *	**D**	**149,392**	**(69%)**
Tomlin	R	50,112	(23%)
Weldon	P	9,714	(5%)
O'Brien	L	7,443	(3%)

Incumbency wasn't a liability for five-termer Tom Lantos, who rolled up another in a long string of impressive victories.

DISTRICT 13 (58% D - 27% R)

Stark *	**D**	**117,701**	**(61%)**
Teyler	R	60,709	(31%)
Allen	P	15,966	(8%)

Pete Stark also has a safe district and had no trouble with foster-care home operator Verne Teyler.

DISTRICT 14 (48% D -35% R)

Eshoo	**D**	**136,174**	**(57%)**
Huening	R	92091	(39%)
Olson	L	6699	(3%)
Wald	P	3647	(2%)

Probably no one in this South Bay district was surprised that Democrat Anna Eshoo defeated opponent Tom Huening, but the margin of victory — close to 18 points — was far wider than anyone predicted for a race that was thought to be the Bay Area's most competitive. Eshoo, who came within 5 percent of winning this district in 1988 against then-Stanford law professor Tom Campbell (who gives up the seat this year after an unsuccessful run for the U.S. Senate), is the first woman and first Democrat to represent the 14th Congressional District. While she has no business or engineering background in an area populated by highly educated, technology and business-oriented voters, she benefited from a surge in Democratic voter registration in the district (Democrats gained 9295 voters while Republicans *lost* 1738 voters), from joint appearances with U.S. Senate candidates Dianne Feinstein and Barbara Boxer, and from high name recognition from her earlier congressional race. Huening, a former airline pilot who has his own investment company, meanwhile, scored endorsements from big business lobbies and top-level Silicon Valley executives. But Huening, a pro-choice moderate, distanced himself from his party's national leaders, even turning down an offer from Vice President Dan Quayle to make an appearance on his behalf. Eshoo and Huening, who both serve as San Mateo County supervisors, ran one of the most polite, issues-oriented campaigns in this otherwise tumultuous election season, with Huening ultimately falling on his dual disadvantages best summed up by critics who called him a "white-bread male."

DISTRICT 15 (46% D - 38% R)

Mineta *	**D**	**157,146**	**(64%)**
Wick	R	76,216	(31%)
Deiterly	L	12,469	(5%)

Nine-term incumbent Norm Mineta, a former mayor of San Jose who used to be one of the state's two Asian-Americans in Congress, was taking no chances this year. Even though his Republican opponent, Robert Wick, has never held public office, Mineta spent more than $710,000 to defeat him. Wick, a self-employed engineering consultant, spent about $45,500, according to federal expenditure reports from January 1st to October 14th. Why was Mineta so nervous? Because about 40 percent of the voters in his new district have never seen his name on their ballots, and more of them are registered Republicans than in his old district.

DISTRICT 16 (55% D - 29% R)

Edwards *	**D**	**89,923**	**(62%)**
Bundesen	R	45,450	(32%)
Kuumba	P	8,756	(6%)

Ted Bundesen, 28, wasn't even born when Don Edwards, then a title company

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executive and lawyer, was first elected to Congress in 1963. And although Bundesen, a materials analyst, did well enough for having spent only $350 from January 1st to October 14th, he was no match for the dean of California's congressional delegation who, at age 77, won election to a 16th term.

DISTRICT 17 (52% D - 31% R)

Panetta *	**D**	**141,804**	**(72%)**
McCampbell	R	46,827	(24%)
Wilkes	L	3,788	(2%)
Smith	P	4,486	(2%)

As you can see, Democrat Leon Panetta, chairman of the House Budget Committee, really sweated over this one. Still, Republicans may be able to hold out hope that Panetta will be named to a high post in the Clinton administration and thus vacate the district. That — and term limits — is the only way they'll beat him.

DISTRICT 18 (53% D - 36% R)

Condit *	**D**	**125,291**	**(84%)**
Almstrom	L	23,098	(16%)

Not one of the tighter races this year, although Libertarian Kim Almstrom, who got just 130 votes in the primary, did quite a bit better this time.

Lehman

Cloud

DISTRICT 19 (47% D - 42% R)

Lehman *	**D**	**95,147**	**(47%)**
Cloud	R	94,259	(47%)
Wells	P	12,463	(6%)

This was a race to strike fear into the heart of an incumbent. In this case, the incumbent was Richard Lehman, who defeated political newcomer Tal Cloud by about 1000 votes out of 215,000 ballots cast in a newly configured district that gave Republicans a healthy boost. Observers from both sides said that the voters in this otherwise conservative, four-county district were so disgusted by the juvenile nature of the Lehman-Cloud race that as a protest vote, they gave Peace and Freedom Party candidate Dorothy Wells — a nurse who never actively campaigned and who was out of town on vacation on Election Day — 6 percent of the vote. Fresno Christian Coalition write-in candidate Jim Williams received 885 votes, and the Cloud campaign accused him of trying to sabotage their candidate because Cloud was pro-choice. (The president of the coalition disputed the allegation.) Lehman, whose $600,000 campaign featured such inspired images as Cloud's nose growing Pinocchio-style, outspent his opponent four-to-one. He said that Cloud, who had moved from Orange County to the Valley just six years ago, didn't understand the needs of the district as well as he did. Cloud, 28, is the vice president of a paper and pulp company owned by his mother, and said it was time to get rid of career politicians such as Lehman, who has spent most of his adult life as a part of government. Cloud's ads used unflattering footage of Lehman (caught unaware) eating at a banquet, then making a goofy face.

DISTRICT 20 (61% D - 29% R)

Dooley *	**D**	**66,291**	**(65%)**
Hunt	R	36,163	(35%)

In a newly configured district that boosted Democratic registration from 48 percent to 61 percent, one-termer Cal Dooley, a fourth-generation farmer, held at bay Fresno District Attorney Ed Hunt.

DISTRICT 21 (42% D - 46% R)

Thomas *	**R**	**119,256**	**(71%)**
Vollmer	D	48,756	(29%)

Attorney Deborah Vollmer, a write-in candidate who won a contested race for the Democratic nomination, had little chance of beating William Thomas in this solidly Republican district.

DISTRICT 22 (41% D - 42% R)

Huffington	**R**	**120,356**	**(52%)**
Ochoa	D	82,137	(35%)
Lorenz	G	22,216	(10%)
Dilbeck	L	7,040	(3%)

Once upon a time there was a man with a lot of money who wanted to run for Congress. Now this man, Michael Huffington, labored for a long time in the political vineyards of the GOP, waiting until he might have a chance to ascend to high office. The only problem was, an ancient and venerable man already had the job and showed no intention of moving on. This year, our rich young man could wait no longer. He decided to run anyway. And the one thing he had that no one else had was lots of money. Lots and lots of money. And so he spent it. Maybe $5.5 million or so. And he beat that ancient incumbent, Robert Lagomarsino, and won the Republican nomination. And then he took on the Democratic nominee, Santa Barbara Supervisor Gloria Ochoa, and, un-leashing his mighty dollars, he beat her, too. So you see, boys and girls, the moral of our story is that money really can by happiness; or if not that, at least a seat in Congress.

DISTRICT 23 (43% D - 42% R)

Gallegly *	**R**	**108,152**	**(54%)**
Ferguson	D	83,543	(42%)
Wood	L	8,584	(4%)

Democrats thought that this district could be theirs, if the party somehow could sweep the state. Well, Democrats swept alright, but the cleaning somehow missed this corner along the Los Angeles-Ventura county border. Incumbent Elton Gallegly got his pick of districts, cajoling fellow Republican incumbent Robert Lagomarsino to move north to Santa Barbara County, where Lagomarsino lost to Michael Huffington in the Republican primary. In the general election Gallegly faced Anita Perez Ferguson, who was an experienced candidate because of a run against Lagomarsino two years ago. Democrats spent a lot of effort trying to win this seat. They attacked Gallegly as racist because of his position on immigration and because he questioned the fact that Perez Ferguson didn't always use her middle name in campaign literature. But the attacks apparently didn't stick, and the Democratic wave bypassed this district.

Beilenson

McClintock

DISTRICT 24 (46% D - 40% R)

Beilenson *	**D**	**132,022**	**(56%)**
McClintock	R	91,074	(39%)
Lindblad	P	12749	(5%)

Republicans were licking their chops over this district. Incumbent Tony Beilenson was forced up to this corner of the San Fernando Valley when reapportionment reduced the number of Democratic seats in west Los Angeles. He was an unrequited liberal, they thought, way too liberal for the district. And coming forward to challenge him was a darling of the Republican right, young Tom McClintock, a libertarian-leaning assemblyman who had been making a mark as a fighter for reform of the state budget. But some of McClintock's ideas may be too much for most voters. He wants to turn over to the private sector all sorts of government functions, from street lighting to prisons. And although Beilenson is liberal, he also has a reputation as a pragmatic lawmaker. It also didn't hurt the Democrat that voters in California may have been tired of Republican rhetoric by Election Day. McClintock had been touted as a potential challenger from the right to Governor Pete Wilson. You can scratch that name off your list.

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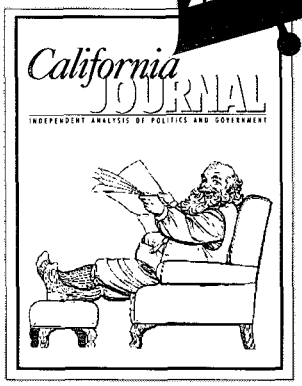

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DISTRICT 25 (38% D - 49% R)

McKeon	**R**	**104,552**	**(52%)**
Gilmartin	D	67,687	(33%)
Wilken	G	6,464	(3%)
Christensen	L	6,444	(3%)
Lawrence	P	4,782	(2%)

This is a new seat in the Santa Clarita and Antelope valleys, and the residents there have long been anticipating having their own member of Congress. It's also solidly Republican territory, and the open seat brought out a bumper crop of GOP contenders, some with famous names from the present or past. The leading contender was thought to be Assemblyman Phil Wyman of Tehachapi. But also running were former Congressman John Rousselot and former Los Angeles County Assessor John Lynch. But the Republican voters turned instead to a local product, Santa Clarita's first mayor, Howard "Buck" McKeon, whose family owns a chain of western wear shops. McKeon won, but the margin of victory was not nearly as large as it would have been in other years. Republican registration dropped 3 percentage points since the primary and where McKeon could have expected more than 60 percent of the vote in a normal year, he got only 52 percent this time.

DISTRICT 26 (60% D - 28% R)

Berman *	**D**	**69,515**	**(61%)**
Forsch	R	33,595	(30%)
Hinds	P	6,740	(6%)
Zimring	L	3,280	(3%)

Incumbent Democrat Howard Berman, half of the Berman-Waxman political organization that rules west Los Angeles politics, got one of the few good Democratic districts that were left after reapportionment. He had no troubles winning a fifth term on Election Day.

DISTRICT 27 (43% D - 44% R)

Moorhead *	**R**	**95,169**	**(48%)**
Kahn	D	78,559	(40%)
Moorman	G	10,312	(5%)
Edwards	P	6,853	(4%)
Decherd	L	4,427	(2%)

Twenty-year veteran Carlos Moorhead had three primary opponents, but when he collected 60 percent of the primary vote, he must have thought the worst was over. But on Election Day, he was handed another scare. Moorhead ended up with less than 50 percent of the vote despite the fact that his opponent, Doug Kahn, had less than $100,000 to spend. It's problematic if more money would have mattered, though; Moorhead is sitting on a half-million dollar war chest for such emergencies.

DISTRICT 28 (41% D - 46% R)

Dreier *	**R**	**112,990**	**(58%)**
Wachtel	D	72,177	(37%)
Sheasby	G	5,869	(3%)
Dominy	L	4,022	(2%)

Speaking of major war chests, there's David Dreier, the $2 million man. That's the size of the reserves Dreier holds in his campaign account, just in case he ever wants to run for anything. And with that amount as a starter, he can run for most anything he wants. This year he was talked about as a U. S. Senate candidate. Who knows what's next. But we hear that the current Republican governor isn't too popular right now.

DISTRICT 29 (58% D — 27% R)

Waxman *	**D**	**149,292**	**(62%)**
Robbins	R	60,995	(25%)
Davies	P	12,996	(5%)
Rogin	L	4,291	(2%)

The Berman-Waxman clan didn't have a particularly good primary. Their main mission, electing Mel Levine to the U. S. Senate, was a dismal failure and incumbent state Senator Herschel

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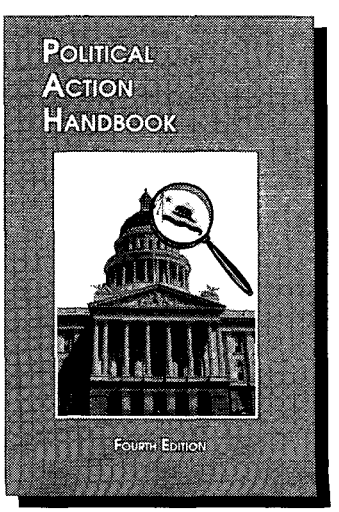

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Rosenthal was dumped for Tom Hayden. Still, the general election went better and 10-term incumbent Henry Waxman was returned to the House with little difficulty. And Waxman is being talked about for a big appointment in the new Clinton White House. Things could be worse.

DISTRICT 30 (61% D - 23% R)

Becerra	**D**	**45,502**	**(59%)**
Waksberg	R	18,150	(24%)
Bonpane	G	5,852	(8%)
Nakano	P	5,729	(7%)
Consalvo	L	2,059	(3%)

Xavier Becerra had only served one term in the Assembly when the venerable Ed Roybal decided, at the last minute, to retire after 30 years of service. Roybal at first wanted to turn the mantle over to one of his staffers, Henry Lozano. But he apparently didn't count on the ability of the Latino community to scheme among itself for such plum jobs. Lozano dropped out in favor of Becerra, but another faction, one that includes Assemblyman Richard Polanco, state Senator Art Torres and LA Councilman Richard Alatorre, pushed forward LA school board member Leticia Quezada as its candidate. Oh yeah, eight others got in the race. Becerra won with just 31 percent of the primary vote. The November election, in contrast, was a cakewalk.

DISTRICT 31 (59% D - 28% R)

Martinez *	**D**	**64,430**	**(63%)**
Franco	R	37,729	(37%)

For Marty Martinez, this is his best margin of victory in years. One of Congress' lesser lights, Martinez has always had a tough time winning re-election. This year was only a partial exception. He had three challengers in the primary, but managed to capture 57 percent of the vote. And the 63 percent he collected in November was practically a landslide.

DISTRICT 32 (76% D - 13% R)

Dixon *	**D**	**142,271**	**(87%)**
Weber	L	11,470	(7%)
Williams	P	9,205	(6%)

Believe it or not, there are actually two congressional districts with higher percentages of registered Democrats. But this is enough for Julian Dixon, who's not greedy.

DISTRICT 33 (67% D -20% R)

Roybal-Allard	**D**	**30,235**	**(63%)**
Guzman	R	14,383	(30%)
Delia	P	2,012	(4%)
Olvera	L	1,137	(2%)

This a new district in the Huntington Park-South Gate area that was created for a Latino candidate, and it drew Assemblywoman Lucille Roybal-Allard, daughter of Congressman Ed Roybal. The district has a high immigrant population, and very low voter turnout. Roybal-Allard had no trouble winning here, but the total vote cast in this district is about 20 percent of what it was elsewhere in the state.

DISTRICT 34 (61% D - 28% R)

Torres *	**D**	**86,721**	**(62%)**
Hernandez	R	47,357	(34%)
Swinney	L	6,676	(5%)

Esteban Torres had no trouble winning his sixth trip to the House of Representatives from this district located east of downtown Los Angeles around Montebello, La Puente and Norwalk.

DISTRICT 35 (80% D - 11% R)

Waters *	**D**	**98,338**	**(83%)**
Truman	R	16,122	(14%)
Miles	P	2,643	(2%)
Rogers	L	1,523	(1%)

This is the most heavily Democratic district in the state and it belongs to feisty Maxine Waters. The area was at the center of the riots last spring and Waters took the lead in trying to bring post-riot aid to the area. Look for her to redouble efforts with a Democrat in the White House.

Harman

Flores

DISTRICT 36 (42% D - 43% R)

Harman	**D**	**117,202**	**(49%)**
Flores	R	100,062	(42%)
Greene	G	12,413	(5%)
Staley	P	5,167	(2%)
Denny	L	5,088	(2%)

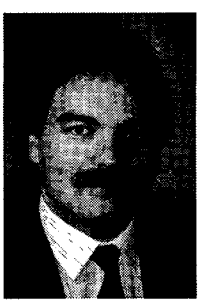
This new district on the southern Palos Verdes Peninsula became a major battleground. Republicans thought the district should be theirs by virtue of registration, and it attracted 11 from the GOP in the primary. Among those running were Maureen Reagan, daughter of the former president, and Bill Beverly, son of state Senator Bob Beverly. But the winner after a bruising contest turned out to be Los Angeles Councilwoman Joan Milke Flores. Flores was the more conservative of the candidates, strongly anti-abortion and with the backing of local conservatives such as Bob Dornan and Dana Rohrabacher. That may have helped in a divided primary, where she won with just 34 percent of the vote, but it was a liability in the general election. Democrats attacked her as too conservative for the district, and the area has been hit hard by cutbacks in the defense and aerospace industries. Democrats put on a major registration drive here, closing the Republican registration advantage from 3 to 1 percentage points. And as a candidate they fielded Jane Harman, a lawyer who once worked for Jimmy Carter. Harman had the early support of women's groups, including Emily's List. But she also had access to her own money, which she spent on television advertisements that were put on broadcast television. That strategy is unheard of for a congressional candidate, who must buy the entire Los Angeles media market to reach voters in only a small portion of it. Usually candidates for Congress are deterred by the high cost and the fact that the airwaves are cluttered by commercials from candidates for higher office. But with the presidential contenders all but ignoring the state, there was plenty of room for Harman. And the gambit apparently worked. She not only won, but the voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts apparently helped Democrats further down the ticket win as well.

DISTRICT 37 (77% D - 18% R)

Tucker	**D**	**92,394**	**(86%)**
Duren	P	15,160	(14%)

This district was supposed to go to Lynn Dymally, daughter of Congressman Mervyn Dymally, who decided to retire. But his attempts to pass it along were upset in the primary by Compton Mayor Walter Tucker, who edged out the younger Dymally and three others to win the Democratic nomination. Winning that nomination was enough to guarantee election in November.

Horn



Braude

DISTRICT 38 (50% D - 38% R)

Horn	**R**	**85,415**	**(48%)**
Braude	D	77,367	(44%)
Burton	P	7,934	(5%)

This is the one spot that the Democratic high tide failed to reach. This district in Long Beach had been represented for years by Democrat Glenn Anderson. But Anderson decided to retire this year, at least in part after figuring just how difficult it might be to win re-election. In his stead Democrats nominated his stepson, Evan Anderson Braude, a member of the Long Beach City Council. Republicans waged a heavily contested primary that included the re-emergence of former Assemblyman Dennis Brown, one of the

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more conservative people ever to serve in the California Legislature, who was brought back from missionary work overseas to run for the seat. But Brown narrowly lost to Cal State University professor Steve Horn, a moderate who had worked for former President Richard Nixon. Horn broke the mold of candidates who were easy marks for Democrats this year. He is pro-choice and he refuses to take contributions from political action committees, although he still managed to raise as much money as his opponent. Braude tried to attack Horn by raising questions about the circumstances that led to his resignation as president of the Long Beach campus of CSU, but the charges apparently did not stick. While Democrats where cleaning up in the rest of the state, winning in areas where they had little hope of success, they were losing here, a district they expected to win.

DISTRICT 39 (39% D - 49% R)

Royce	**R**	**113,678**	**(57%)**
McClanahan	D	76,683	(39%)
Dean	L	8,945	(5%)

The incumbent who should have competed for this district, Republican William Dannemeyer, fell on his sword while running for the U.S. Senate, losing to John Seymour in the primary and thereby creating an open congressional district. One would think that this turn of events would have created a stampede among GOP wanna-bes, but nothing of the kind took place. State Senator Ed Royce decided early that he wanted to be a congressman, and he got himself anointed by Orange County Republican kingmakers. Royce proved that their confidence was well placed. He raised nearly $500,000 — more than seven times what Democrat Molly McClanahan was able to pull in. A member of the Fullerton City Council, McClanahan was cash short throughout the campaign, a liability that allowed her to send out only one mailer. She was able to generate little help from congressional Democrats who had their sights set on other races where incumbents were endangered, or where they felt an upset might be brewing against some other Republican. A *coup d'gras*, of sorts, was administered in mid-October when Democratic state Senator Cecil Green of Arcadia endorsed Royce. Still, McClanahan acquitted herself quite well, given the shoestring nature of her campaign.

DISTRICT 40 (40% D - 47% R)

Lewis *	**R**	**125,874**	**(63%)**
Rusk	D	62,433	(31%)
Akin	P	11,481	(6%)

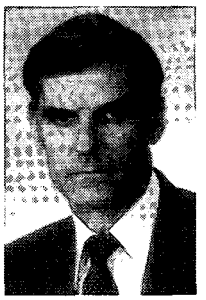
In a year of noisy conflicts throughout the Inland Empire, Republican Jerry Lewis cruised to re-election in a quiet backwater. Lewis, a high-ranking member of the congressional GOP caucus, returns to Washington for his eighth term.

DISTRICT 41 (40% D - 49% R)

Kim	**R**	**94,867**	**(59%)**
Baker	D	56,339	(35%)
Noonan	P	9,679	(6%)

Jay Kim is one of California's surprise stories for 1992. It all began at a 5000-watt radio sta... Oops, wrong yarn. Ahem. It all began when Kim won an upset victory in a June primary that was supposed to be fought out between conservative Jim Lacy, a former White House aide, and moderate Chuck Bader, a former assemblyman. Bader, especially, was the favorite but he stumbled over the carpetbagger issue. Lacy was too far to the right for the district. Thus, Kim sneaked through. A social moderate, the Korean-born Kim is pro-choice on abortion. But on the economy, his cut-taxes outlook dovetails nicely with the large chunk of his district that lies in Orange and San Bernardino counties. Kim, a wealthy businessman, raised nearly $700,000, two-thirds of it from individual contributors. He also loaned his campaign more than $150,000. Democrat Bob Baker, a defense analyst, tried to paint Kim as just another establishment Republican — a dubious tactic in a district where half of registered voters consider themselves Republicans. Kim now becomes the first Korean-born American ever elected to Congress.

Brown, Jr.



Rutan

DISTRICT 42 (53% D - 37% R)

Brown Jr. *	**D**	**77,996**	**(51%)**
Rutan	R	67,525	(44%)
Ward	L	8,212	(5%)

Incumbent Democrat George Brown Jr. is the big pink Energizer bunny of California congressional politics — he just keeps going and going and going and going and ... no matter who the Republicans throw at him. By all rights, Brown should have been cashiered in 1992. Two years ago he ran behind Democratic registration in a *better* district against a local GOP pol. This year, he faced something of a glitzy GOP opponent — pilot-inventor Dick Rutan, a non-politician who seemed tailor-made for the aerospace-laden district and for 1992's anti-incumbent mood among voters. Rutan's the fella who built a flying fuel tank called "Voyager" and piloted it around the world

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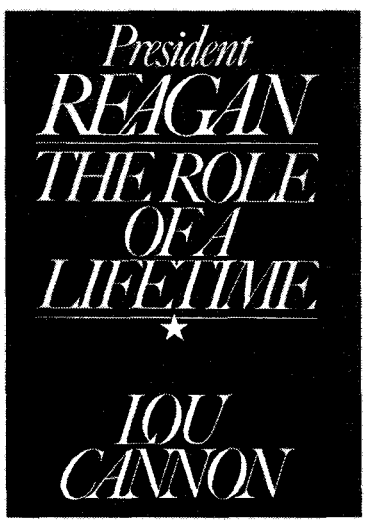

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on one fill-up back in 1986. But Rutan, a fierce conservative, proved less than adept at politicking. No more telling incident occurred during the campaign than the ticklish aerial duel between Rutan and Jeana Yeager, niece of astro-hero Chuck Yeager and Rutan's co-pilot on that Voyager flight. Just two weeks before the election, Rutan and Yeager became embroiled in a public brawl over the fact that Yeager had endorsed — uh, er — Brown. Yeager had endorsed Rutan in his 1992 primary fight with San Berdoo Supervisor Bob Hammock, and her change of heart sent Rutan sputtering to the press to accuse her of trading her vote for Brown's influence in securing her an appointment to NASA's astronaut training program. There was only one problem with that theory: Brown had written Yeager a letter of recommendation more than eight months *before* Rutan even announced that he was running for Congress. A chastened Rutan was forced to retract his allegation that Brown had engaged in unethical behavior (trading a recommendation for an endorsement), and the retraction made Rutan look silly. Yeager rubbed salt in the wound in a letter to Rutan, telling him that he was unfit for public office. None of this helped Rutan's image in what had been a close campaign. On the money front, Rutan raised more than $350,000, but Brown lapped him with contributions that neared $800,000 by mid-October. And Brown had just shy of $100,000 in the bank for a final push, while Rutan was broke. Ultimately, voters in San Bernardino County chose to stay with Brown, who as chairman of the House Committee on Science, Space and Technology, was in a position to help the district's sagging aerospace-driven economy. Brown, who won by a comfortable 10,000 votes, still ran behind Democratic registration but nonetheless returns to Washington for his 16th term in Congress.

DISTRICT 43 (42% D - 46% R)

Calvert	**R**	**87,869**	**(47%)**
Takano	D	87,472	(46%)
Odom	A	5,740	(3%)
Berkman	L	4,676	(3%)

Mark Takano was almost home. On Election Day, the 32-year-old Democrat had outscored his Republican opponent — realtor Ken Calvert — by 1234 votes, thus becoming only the third Asian-American in California's 52-strong congressional delegation. If only the clock had stopped there, in the wee hours of November 4th, with Takano's name atop the board. But alas, elections are like baseball; the game is not ruled by a clock. Keep hitting, and the game goes on. Keep tabulating votes, and you defeat time. And when all the votes had been counted—including thousands of absentees—Calvert, not Takano, had won. The race itself had been hard-fought and at the end mean, with Calvert perilously close to blowing it. This was, after all, solid GOP territory where Calvert was well known. Plus, he out-raised and outspent Takano nearly two-to-one. But this is Riverside County, where the unemployment rate is high and where Republican voters are disaffected and sore. In addition, Calvert sat on his duff until congressional Republicans and a few private polls showed the district in jeopardy. Late in the campaign, Calvert found himself blindsided from the right by an anti-abortion write-in candidate. In fairness to Calvert, the local economy had been savaged by the recession and by cuts in defense spending—both tied to a GOP administration in Washington. Takano's aggressive effort, meanwhile, was helped by a parallel campaign in the 64th Assembly District on behalf of Democrat Jane Carney. The race was very close all through the fall, with each side claiming during the last week that it was on top. Voters split the difference, but not before both camps slipped into the gutter. Takano hurt his opponent with 11th-hour charges that Calvert was laundering campaign funds through the national GOP campaign committee. Takano, who filed a complaint with the federal officials, also threatened to write to each of Calvert's donors, warning that they, too, may be in legal jeopardy. Those accusations were followed by a heavy handed mailer that charged Calvert with, among other indiscretions, trying to arrange kickbacks on a proposed homeless shelter that Calvert owned. Calvert threatened to sue Takano for libel, and Takano admitted that some details in the mailer may have been wrong. In the end, a handful of votes decided the race.

DISTRICT 44 (45% D - 44% R)

McCandless * R		**101,806**	**(54%)**
Smith	D	76,910	(41%)
Turner	L	10,785	(6%)

Incumbent Al McCandless had a much easier time in 1992 with Riverside County geographer Georgia Smith than he did two years ago against actor Ralph Waite, the "Pa Walton" of television fame. Still, his victory isn't all that impressive. Smith ran a credible campaign, given that she raised and spent less than $10,000 — about 2 percent of McCandless' war chest. She was helped by presidential candidate Bill Clinton's strong showing in otherwise Republican Riverside County and by a gender vote much in evidence throughout the Inland Empire (see the 65th Assembly District analysis).

DISTRICT 45 (35% D - 51% R)

Rohrabacher *R		**116,501**	**(54%)**
McCabe	D	84,267	(39%)
Copeland	L	14,091	(7%)

It just wasn't the year to be a Republican, or an incumbent. Even winners didn't look particularly good. Take incumbent Dana Rohrabacher. He had outspent CPA Patricia McCabe almost 18-to-one (he: $271,673; she: $15,151) through mid-October, garnered a lot of national publicity for leading the fight against illegal immigrants and enjoyed a 16-point bulge in voter registration. In years past, those advantages would have added up to at least 60 percent of the vote. But Rohrabacher (among other incumbents) came in well below that.

★ ★ Oh, those absentee ballots ★ ★

At the rate things are going, the day may come (and not too far in the future) when visiting a polling booth on Election Day will be considered a quaint tradition. Already an estimated 25 percent of the ballots cast in California in the November election were absentee ballots, up from 16.3 percent in the June primary.

The surge in absentee voting really began a decade ago. That was when the Republicans put George Deukmejian into the governor's office even though Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradly had won more votes on Election Day. When all the absentee ballots were counted, Deukmejian was governor. Since then, absentee voting has steadily increased. In 1982 the absentee ballot count was 6 percent of the total. That rose to 14 percent of the total in the 1988 general election and to 18 percent in the 1990 general election.

Both Democrats and Republicans have identified the absentee ballot as a get-out-the-vote tool, and their efforts have helped familiarize voters with the process, especially that they don't need an excuse to vote absentee (such as that they'll be out of town on Election Day). Democrats, for instance, used it in a special state Senate election a few years ago to propel Cecil Green into the 33rd District seat, defeating Republican Wayne Grisham, who had been expected to win.

But this year, Republicans turned the tables. In two hotly contested races — one for Congress and the other for the Assembly — Republican absentee ballots turned around elections that had, on Election Day, apparently fallen to Democrats. In the 43rd District, absentees converted a 1000-plus vote deficit into a 300-plus advantage for Republican Ken Calvert — at the expense of Democrat Mark Takano. And in the 17th Assembly District, incumbent Republican Dean Andal trailed by 1058 votes on Election Day, but resumed his seat in the Legislature after the absentees were pasted to his total.

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DISTRICT 46 (48% D - 41% R)

Dornan *	**R**	**49,633**	**(50%)**
Banuelos	D	40,587	(41%)
Newhouse	L	8711	(9%)

It's been an interesting year for eight-term incumbent Bob Dornan. First, he was embroiled in a tight primary campaign with retired Judge Judith Ryan — a challenge that Dornan considered a personal affront. He was, after all, *Bob Dornan*, an incumbent with proprietary rights to the 46th District. The vitriol flowed freely from both camps during the primary, but Dornan won a comfortable, 20-point victory. The primary behind him, Dornan threw himself into George Bush's re-election, taking on the role of junkyard dog. In this capacity, Dornan went on teevee (C-SPAN, to be exact) where he took to the well of the House of Representatives for after-hours tirades against Democratic nominee Bill Clinton — unedited speeches broadcast to more than one million viewers. It was here that Dornan, and others, suggested that Clinton's trip to the Soviet Union back during his student days 23 years ago came at the behest of Soviet intelligence agents (read: KGB) who had recruited Clinton to help organize anti-Vietnam War demonstrations in London. Dornan defended his accusations, saying that he had the right to "speculate" until Clinton set the record straight. Clinton laughed off Dornan's performance. But other observers labeled the effort a return to "McCarthyism," a reference to GOP demagogue Joe from the early 1950s who gained wide notoriety for using innuendo to smear political opponents. Undaunted, Dornan spent most of his time this fall campaigning for the Bush/Quayle ticket, and that meant precious little time for his own re-election. He was forced to return to it during the last week by some ominous signs, not the least of which was a successful Democratic voter-registration drive that brought more than 13,000 new Democrats onto voter rolls between May and October, compared with just a shade over 3000 Republicans. On the other side, Democrat Robert Banuelos never was in a position to take advantage of Dornan's negatives, or his absence. Democratic kingmakers were less than enamoured with Banuelos, and his campaign was hobbled by a lack of cash. He raised less than $5000. Compare that with Dornan, who had raised $1.1 million through mid-October. He had spent $1.2 million much of it, however, on his primary campaign. Still, for all his handicaps, Banuelos managed 41 percent of the vote. Dornan, for all his notoriety and cash, captured barely 50 percent, causing one to speculate that had Democrats given the slightest little bit of help to Banuelos, they might have sent Dornan into electoral oblivion. But, hey, we're just speculating.

DISTRICT 47 (30% D - 56% R)

Cox *	**R**	**151,143**	**(65%)**
Anwiler	D	71,657	(31%)
Quirk	P	11,538	(5%)

GOP incumbent Christopher Cox rolled to an impressive victory for his third term in Congress.

DISTRICT 48 (29% D - 55% R)

Packard *	**R**	**128,213**	**(61%)**
Farber	D	62,318	(30%)
White	P	12,336	(6%)
Lowe	L	8,017	(4%)

The district spreads out over Orange, Riverside and San Diego counties. Incumbent Bob Packard ran a quietly competent campaign and carried all three counties convincingly. He now returns to Washington for his sixth term.

Schenk

Jarvis

DISTRICT 49 (39% D - 43% R)

Schenk	**D**	**118,101**	**(52%)**
Jarvis	R	96,135	(42%)
Wallner	L	9,817	(4%)
Zaslow	P	4,379	(2%)

With a long political season finally over, the decision earlier this year by three incumbent GOP congressmen to move out of this district and run for re-election elsewhere turned out to be a prudent choice. (Well, perhaps it wasn't all *that* prudent for Republican Bill Lowery, who lost a primary in the 51st District. But Randy Cunningham and Duncan Hunter each won re-election from somewhere else.) For when the smoke had cleared in this supposedly Republican district, a Democrat had won the seat. Of course, Lynn Schenk was no ordinary Democrat. Well-known throughout the San Diego area because of her job as port commissioner, Schenk also was a former member of the Jerry Brown administration whose wide-ranging contacts with big-shot Democrats from all over the country helped fill her campaign coffers. She had been a fund-raiser extraordinaire for Democratic causes and thus had a lot of chits to call in when it came to raising money for her own cause. And raise it she did. She out-raised Republican Judy Jarvis by, oh, nine-to-one and out-spent her seven-to-one. It paid off. Schenk ran 13 points *ahead* of district registration to fend off a serious and hard-fought challenge from Jarvis, a political novice who pulled off a huge upset to win the June GOP primary against a large field of male candidates. Against Schenk, Jarvis tried to cast the election as a choice between an "insider" and "outsider," with herself in the role of outsider. It proved a spirited effort, but not enough to overcome Schenk's money and pizzazz.

DISTRICT 50 (50% D - 35% R)

Filner	**D**	**71,251**	**(57%)**
Valencia	R	35,942	(29%)
Hutchinson	L	14,218	(11%)
Batchelder	P	3,927	(3%)

The race for the open 50th District

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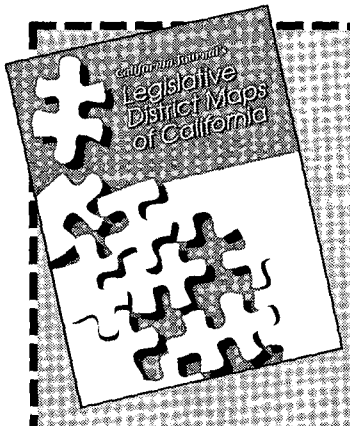

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proved a curious little affair that is not reflected in Democrat Bob Filner's resounding 28-point victory over Republican Tony Valencia. The result itself was never in doubt. After all, Filner was a huge vote-getter during his election last year to the San Diego City Council. In addition, Democrats ran well even in Republican parts of San Diego, and this Latino-dominated district represented a decent district for Democrats. Finally, Filner maintained a huge edge in campaign swag after having raised $647,310 compared with his opponent's puny $44,000 war chest. Nonetheless, the race itself was tinged with the odor of anti-Semitism as Valencia repeatedly called attention to Filner's Jewishness. In an ironic twist, Filner hammered at Valencia for the Republican candidate's ties to jailed financier Michael Milken. Meanwhile, Libertarian Barbara Hutchinson gained a surprising 11 percent of the vote. Republicans knew early on that they could not capture this race, but they cultivated Valencia anyway, hoping to use him as an avenue to the district's vast and as yet politically dormant Latino population.

DISTRICT 51 (30% D - 52% R)

Cunningham *R		**125,913**	**(56%)**
Herbert	D	77,023	(34%)
Clark	P	9,502	(4%)
Holmes	L	9,322	(4%)
Roe	G	4,796	(2%)

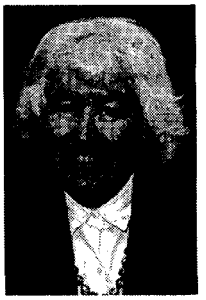
Randy Cunningham didn't endear himself to many voters in this district when he joined fellow Republican congressmen Bob Dornan (46th District) and Duncan Hunter (52nd District) for a little Bill Clinton-bashing on the floor of the House of Representatives during the recent campaign. Some area observers — Republican and Democrat alike — wondered if Cunningham would prove a liability to San Diego should Clinton win the election. Well, Clinton did win, and that should be good news for Lynn Schenk and Bob Filner — the two Democrats who will represent San Diego in the House. Given the political adage "don't get mad, get even," one may speculate that whatever largesse flows to San Diego from the federal government will flow through Schenk and Filner.

DISTRICT 52 (39% D - 46% R)

Hunter *	**R**	**101,936**	**(52%)**
Gastil	D	80,878	(42%)
Shea	L	6,292	(3%)
Gretsinger	P	5,281	(3%)

It hasn't been a pleasant year for Duncan Hunter. First, he was embroiled in the House banking scandal, during which it was revealed that he had bounced 89 trillion checks. Then, when the scandal first broke, he was — like other House members — less than candid about the depth of his involvement. At one point, he was reduced to sitting behind a card table at various locales around the district, willing to explain each and every check to any constituent who asked. Finally, he drew as an opponent a tenacious 52-year-old attorney named Janet Gastil, who never let up never let up never let up the pressure on him throughout the campaign. At one point, Hunter threatened to sue Gastil because one of her radio commercials accused him of kiting checks. Toward the end, Democrats talked about a last-minute upset along the lines of the one fashioned against GOP Assemblywoman Tricia Hunter (no relation), whose district somewhat paralleled this one. But Duncan Hunter's district was a little friendlier to Republicans than was Tricia Hunter's 80th Assembly District. In addition, Tricia didn't have the luxury of outspending her opponent by seven-to-one, as Duncan Hunter did against Gastil.

Hunter



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DISTRICT-BY-DISTRICT ANALYSIS

STATE SENATE

The state Senate provided a quiet haven from the bustle and thunder of 1992, and did the election did little to alter the composition of the upper house. In fact, the most surprising bit of news to emerge from the Senate on Election Day had nothing to do with the election itself: Majority Leader Barry Keene of Benicia, who still had two years remaining on his current term, announced that he was resigning because of long-standing frustrations over how business is conducted by the Legislature. Before the election, Democrats held 24 seats and Republicans 13, with two independents and one vacancy. Democrats emerged from the election with 22 seats, while Republicans held fast with 13. The two independents remained, and three, pre-reapportionment "even" districts became vacant: the 2nd, where Keene held forth; the 16th, where incumbent Don Rogers leaves to represent the new 17th District; and the 32nd, which incumbent Ed Royce left after being elected to Congress. All three vacancies will be filled during special elections early in 1993. A Democrat likely will win Keene's seat, while another Republican probably will succeed Royce. Rogers' vacancy, however, will create an interesting problem for both parties. The election will be held in Rogers' old 16th District, which had a slight GOP cast in 1990 — the last time anyone ran there (50 percent Democratic, 41 percent Republican). A strong candidate from either party could win it. But two years down the road, the *new* 16th District will be decidedly Democratic (60 percent Democratic, 29 percent GOP registriation). So, although Republicans may gain a seat in the special election, chances are the gain will prove ephemeral.

DISTRICT 1 (43% D - 44% R)

Leslie *	**R**	**168,960**	**(55%)**
Romero	D	111,147	(36%)
Smith	G	29,272	(10%)

Incumbent Tim Leslie has the most solidly Republican district in the northern half of the state. He easily beat back challenger Thomas Romero, a Democratic Party activist and schoolteacher who was making his first run for elective office.

DISTRICT 3 (59% D - 22% R)

Marks *	**D**	**217,728**	**(67%)**
Boerum	R	80,100	(25%)
Wohler	L	15,772	(5%)
Graham	P	11,765	(4%)

Milton Marks, a 72-year-old who has been in the Senate since 1967 (but only the last four years as a Democrat), handily won another term by defeating Bill Boerum, a 49-year-old software salesman.

DISTRICT 5 (51% D - 39% R)

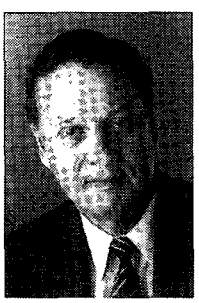
Johnston *	**D**	**148,599**	**(58%)**
Stauffer	R	94,698	(37%)
Roberts	L	13,698	(5%)

Pat Johnston and Ron Stauffer agreed on little in their low-key race, and voters listened to the differences and clearly stated their preference for Johnston. Stauffer, who is active in the California Pro-life Council, was making a first run for office.

DISTRICT 7 (46% D - 40% R)

Boatwright *	**D**	**188317**	**(58%)**
Marguth Jr.	R	134,355	(42%)

If any state Senate seat worried Democrats, it was this one, where reapportionment raised the Republican component of this East Bay district from 35 percent to more than 40 percent, and where former Assemblyman Gilbert Marguth, a pro-choice moderate, decided to throw in his hat. But Dan Boatwright, who served in the Assembly from 1973-80 before being elected to the Senate, allayed those fears with a strong win.



Boatwright

Marguth, Jr.

DISTRICT 9 (70% D - 14% R)

Petris *	**D**	**213,927**	**(85%)**
Campbell	P	38,939	(15%)

Nicholas Petris has represented Oakland and the Democratic areas of the East Bay for 34 years.

DISTRICT 11 (46% D - 38% R)

Morgan *	**R**	**199,685**	**(64%)**
Trinkle	D	97,167	(31%)
Inama	L	15,162	(5%)

A pro-choice Republican, Rebecca Morgan has made no secret of the fact that she's considering which statewide office to seek in 1994. The only posts she's ruled out so far are insurance commissioner and governor — unless Pete Wilson decides not to run again.

DISTRICT 13 (54% D - 30% R)

Alquist *	**D**	**131,771**	**(61%)**
Iddings	R	66,878	(31%)
Webster	L	18,059	(8%)

Elected to the Assembly in 1963 and the state Senate in 1966, Al Alquist didn't have a primary opponent in his San Jose-Santa Clara district and beat back challenges from 34-year-old Michael Iddings, a technical instructor and Libertarian John Webster, a 47-year-old software engineer. In his 80s, Alquist is still vigorous enough to ramrod the Senate Budget Committee.

DISTRICT 15 (51% D - 32% R)

Mello *	**D**	**152,084**	**(59%)**
Laverone	R	88,417	(34%)
Espinoza	P	19,405	(8%)

Republicans pretended, for awhile, that they might make a real run at incumbent Henry Mello. For one thing, Democratic registration is only so-so here. For another, Mello is notorious for scaring easily. The hope was Mello would start spending money on his own campaign and forget about giving it to races where it might really be needed. Alas for the GOP, it picked the wrong time to bluff. There was no way they were going to win in this Central California coastal community this

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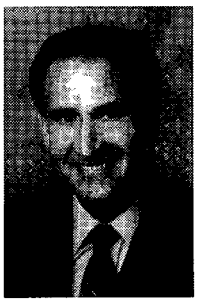
year. Mello spent some money, but much of it was elsewhere.

DISTRICT 17 (37% D - 49% R)

Rogers *	**R**	**127,393**	**(52%)**
Olenick	D	96,456	(39%)
Heiser	L	21,974	(9%)

Republican Don Rogers didn't have to run for this seat; he was secure for another two years as the incumbent in the old 16th District. But he decided to make the jump because the new 16th is unfriendly territory for a Republican. Not that this race proved a cakewalk for the Bakersfield lawmaker, who has served in the Legislature now for 14 years (the last six in the Senate). Although registration heavily favored Rogers, and although he outspent his Democratic opponent 10-to-one, Rogers' margin of victory, while firm, was not impressive. He particularly was hurt by the large vote accorded to Libertarian Fred Heiser. Rogers made his best showing in the Kern and Inyo portions of the district, polling 58 and 60 percent, respectively, in those mostly rural counties. In population-heavy Los Angeles County, however, Rogers managed only a shade more than 50 percent, with Heiser siphoning off nearly 10 percent. Rogers did even worse in San Bernardino County. Nonetheless, he's been elected, which sets up a special election in his old 16th District. Since that region is GOP in outlook, Republicans could gain an extra seat for two more years. That special election may prompt some confusion, for it will be held in the old (read: pre-reapportionment) 16th. Voters who live in *both* the old 16th District and new 17th District will have two senators represent them for the next two years. Conversely, voters in the new 16th but not the old one will have *no one* represent them until 1994.



Rogers

Wright

DISTRICT 19 (41% D - 45% R)

Wright	**R**	**137,083**	**(53%)**
Starr	D	101,843	(39%)
Burns	L	10,676	(4%)
Najbergier	P	9,986	(4%)

Republican Cathie Wright didn't do very well in the general election, but in a district that's so overwhelmingly in the GOP column, it was all but impossible to lose. Wright had her biggest challenge winning the Republican primary in a district that opened up when Senator Ed Davis decided to retire. Davis can't stand Wright, who has been a long-time political rival in the western San Fernando Valley. Davis, instead, supported former Assemblywoman Marian La Follette, who had represented much of the area before leaving the Assembly to take care of her dying husband. The contest turned nasty and expensive, but Wright won in the end. Her Democratic opponent, Hank Starr, had little money to spend, but he still managed to hold Wright to only 53 percent of the vote. Still, Democrats shouldn't be too hopeful about winning this seat in four years. Unless, of course, they have turned things around to a much greater degree than even they could imagine.

DISTRICT 21 (44% D - 43% R)

Russell *	**R**	**120,751**	**(49%)**
Dewey	D	109,193	(45%)
New	L	9,946	(4%)
Tucker	P	5,656	(2%)

If it weren't for term limits, 18-year veteran Newton Russell might have plenty to worry about. After all, he received fewer than half the votes in this district, which is centered in the Glendale area, in a district that's considered rock-solid for a Republican. It has to come as something of a surprise to Russell, who thought he had dodged a bullet when Senate President pro Tempore David Roberti, removed from his old district by reapportionment, decided to run in Alan Robbins' old seat instead of here. Now along comes Rachel Dewey with about $10,000 to spend and she pushes Russell right to the wall. But, since this is Russell's last term, why worry? But it does lay the groundwork for a grand fight four years from now.

DISTRICT 23 (55% D - 31% R)

Hayden	**D**	**185,379**	**(57%)**
McRoskey	R	97,170	(33%)
Isaacson	P	26,080	(8%)
Weilburg	L	10,308	(3%)

Republicans originally hadn't bothered to field a candidate in this district on the west side of Los Angeles. After all, incumbent Herschel Rosenthal had held sway here for years without too much trouble. Only problem was, Rosenthal was challenged in the June primary by a pair of Democrats. Assemblyman Tom Hayden, who was left without a seat following reapportionment, decided he wanted to move up. Adding to the mix was Catherine O'Neil, a community activist who until recently has been living in New York, but who has old ties to the district. Indeed, many years ago she ran

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State Senate*	32	80%	2	5.0%	3	7.5%	0	
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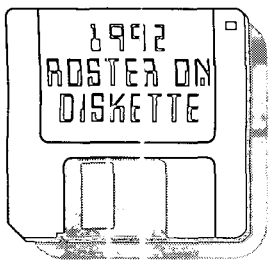

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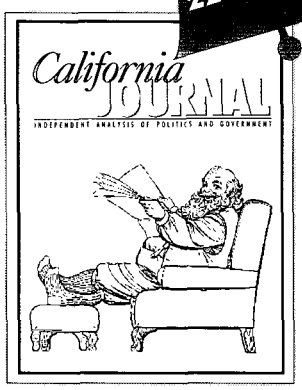

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Hayden

Beverly

for this same Senate seat and came close to being the first woman ever elected to the California Senate. For Rosenthal, who is in the middle of a four-year term, winning the election would have meant two more years in office. Challengers hammered hard on this, saying the incumbent was spending $1 million just to say in the Senate two more years. Hayden, of course, comes with his own set of liabilities. But he also has a fortune, thanks to his now-ended marriage to Jane Fonda, and he spent freely on the election. O'Neill's campaign was feisty, but underfinanced. Hayden won the primary in a squeaker, by just a few hundred votes. And also winning was Republican write-in candidate Leonard McRoskey, who was one of three from the GOP who tried to get on the ballot by write-in once they thought Hayden might be the opponent. There is always some money for the candidate who runs against Hayden. But he will be hard to beat in this district, as he showed in November.

DISTRICT 25 (75% D - 15% R)

Hughes	**D**	**119,316**	**(77%)**
McClain	R	28,410	(18%)
Benn	P	6,918	(5%)

Reapportionment eliminated one Assembly district for African-American politicians in Los Angeles. But Teresa Hughes lucked out when Bill Greene decided to retire from the state Senate. She had to win a primary over Linwood Councilman Paul Richards. But that win behind her, there was nothing to stop her from winning in this solidly Democratic district.

DISTRICT 27 (47% D - 40% R)

Beverly *	**R**	**118,279**	**(47%)**
Finander	D	116,310	(46%)
Rosen	L	10,159	(4%)
McCoy	P	8,504	(3%)

These results have to be a surprise for Bob Beverly, although he should have had hints of trouble when he collected only 47 percent of the primary vote in a four-person field. Still, Brian Finander had a grand total of about to $60,000 spend through the last pre-election reporting period, hardly enough for Beverly to worry about. But Beverly's district has been hit hard by cutbacks in the defense and aerospace industries, and it coincides with other districts where Democrats were engaged in hot contests. Beverly just got swept up in the storm and came within less than 2000 votes of being knocked off. His Assembly Republican colleague, Gerald Felando, wasn't so lucky. He represents this same area and lost. But for Beverly, this is the last hurrah. Term limits will bring an end to his time in the Legislature four years from now in any case.

DISTRICT 29 (42% D - 46% R)

Hill *	**R**	**136,924**	**(56%)**
Hester	D	109,459	(44%)

If there ever were a year that Sandy Hester were going to pull off an upset, this was it. She's a pro-choice Democratic woman running against a conservative Republican with a cloud over his head from the FBI's sting operation. But no matter how hard the winds of change might have been blowing, they couldn't reach the eastern edge of Los Angeles County, which remained solidly Republican. Hill also benefitted from his role in helping to solve the state's budget impasse this past summer.

DISTRICT 31 (41% D - 47% R)

Leonard *	**R**	**185,410**	**(100%)**

So, read any good books lately?

DISTRICT 33 (31% D - 56% R)

Lewis *	**R**	**175,763**	**(64%)**
Eidt	D	81,174	(29%)
Guhy	L	19,129	(7%)

John Lewis won this seat last year in a special election to replace John Seymour, who had been appointed to the U.S. Senate. His Democratic opponent, Samuel Eidt, reported raising and spending no money on his campaign — and it showed.

DISTRICT 35 (33% D - 53% R)

Bergeson *	**R**	**191,940**	**(62%)**
Garcia	D	102,299	(33%)
Sprik	L	15,730	(5%)

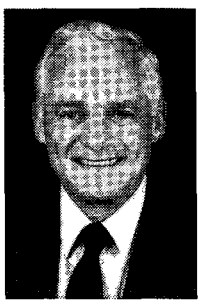
Statewide, the tide ran against most Republican candidates but not against Marian Bergeson, one of the party's most respected legislators.

DISTRICT 37 (38% D - 47% R)

Kelley	**R**	**127,420**	**(52%)**
Rickard	D	94,232	(38%)
Kline	P	15,587	(6%)
McElvany	L	8,953	(4%)

Republican Dave Kelley, who has served in the Assembly since 1978, had a surprisingly tough race against Democrat Jim Rickard, a PhD scientist from Borrego Springs. Rickard, Peace and Freedom candidate Renate Kline and Libertarian Craig McElvany polled 48 percent of the vote among them against an entrenched Republican running in a GOP district. In fact, Kelley, a farmer by trade, did most poorly in the district's two rural counties (Imperial and his home base of Riverside), where he combined for less than 50 percent of the vote. Kelley, however, ran strong in the San Diego portion where he beat Rickard by some 25,000 votes. The final tally is made even more surprising by the fact that Rickard raised and spent almost no money (barely $7000), compared to nearly $100,000 in expenditures for Kelley. Rickard also may have been helped by an intense and ultimately successful Assembly campaign on behalf of Democrat Julie Borenstein in the 80th district, which is included as part of this Senate district. Finally, Kelley's low percentage of the vote may be attributed in part to damage inflicted on him by GOP Assemblywoman Carol Bentley during a bruising primary campaign this past June.

Killea



Ellis

DISTRICT 39 (39% D - 43% R)

Killea *	**I**	**172,154**	**(61%)**
Ellis	R	92,483	(33%)
Cofre	P	10,132	(4%)
Moody	L	8,870	(3%)

Republican Jim Ellis wanted his old seat back. Ellis represented San Diego in the Senate until his retirement in 1988 when he was replaced by another Republican — Larry Stirling. But before Stirling had even warmed the chair, he, too, resigned to become a judge. That opened the door for Democratic Assemblywoman Lucy Killea, who won the old 39th District in a special election against GOP Assemblywoman Carol Bentley — a race that pogoed onto the national stage when the Catholic bishop of San Diego refused Killea communion because of her pro-choice views on abortion. When reapportionment made the new 39th District even more favorable for the GOP, Ellis decided to apply for his old job. Killea, who can read an electoral map as well as anyone, meanwhile opted to leave the Democratic Party, becoming the upper house's second independent (San Francisco's Quentin Kopp is the other) early in 1992. Ellis tried to paint Killea as just another Democrat in independent's clothing. Unfortunately for Ellis, the electorate wasn't as crabby with Democrats as it was with Republicans. And it certainly wasn't crabby with Killea, a former vice-mayor of San Diego who always has enjoyed wide bi-partisan popularity. Her re-election victory was stunning as she racked up more than 60 percent of the vote. Even if you grant that she really *is* a Democrat, Killea ran 22 points ahead of registration. Ellis, on the other hand, ran 10 points *behind* GOP registration.

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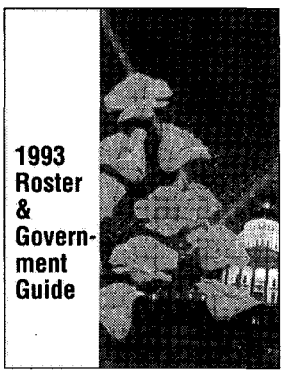

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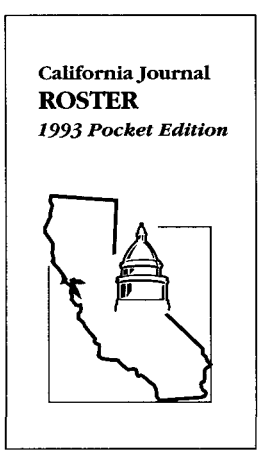

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DISTRICT-BY-DISTRICT ANALYSIS

ASSEMBLY

Yessir, this was supposed to be the Republicans' year. It was all laid out on California's new political map, drawn for the 1992 reapportionment by Supreme Court masters: The Republican Party stood on the edge of taking control of the 80-member Assembly. They went into the election with 33 seats — from the old redistricting plan passed in 1983. According to the "conventional wisdom," the new reapportionment gave the GOP 37 solid districts (plus-43 percent GOP registration), with another six leaning their way (37 to 43 percent GOP registration). Democrats, on the other hand, had only 28 solid districts (plus-56 percent Democratic registration), with 13 leaning toward them (52 to 56 percent Democratic registration). Six districts were labeled "toss-up."

Unfortunately for the GOP, there was a 10-month gap between February, when those maps were released, and November, when voters in the new districts finally cast their ballots. And the events that unfolded during that interval proved anything but conventional in California politics. After those 10 months, Republicans still stood on the edge, but it was the edge of an abyss.

Republican chances were damaged on a number of fronts. First, the state's economy was mired in a recession, with unemployment high throughout the summer. When the economy fares poorly, voters tend to punish those at the top of government, and in California, that meant a Republican president and a Republican governor. Since the governor was not on the 1992 ballot, voters may have taken out their wrath on legislative candidates from his party. In addition, the Bush/Quayle presidential express skirted California, abandoning the state to the Democrats and to H.Ross Perot, thus withholding critical resources and money that could have been used for voter registration and to give the party a more active presence during the critical last month of the campaign. The Republicans also populated the top of their ticket with two relatively weak candidates for the U.S. Senate—John Seymour and Bruce Herschensohn.

The Democrats also sent a bulky torpedo through the Republicans' hull by mounting an aggressive voter-registration drive over the summer; between May and October, Democrats added 819,023 new voters to their rolls. Republicans countered with but 350,549 — fewer than registered "declined to state" and for the state's minor parties.

But Republicans may have done the most damage to themselves thanks to a protracted civil war between party moderates, led by Governor Pete Wilson and Minority Leader Bill Jones, and conservatives, championed by a loose coalition of religious fundamentalists, abortion foes and gun owners — a civil war fought out in June primaries throughout the state. The results were inconclusive as each side won some districts. But even the winners were damaged by negative campaigns and weakened by consuming money and resources needed for the fall. It may be said that 18 Assembly primaries featured confrontations between GOP conservatives and moderates, and Republicans eventually lost seven of those districts to the Democrats. Conservatives captured 11 of the primaries, but won only six of those seats in November. Moderates won seven of the primaries, eventually winning five of the seats. The catastrophe was especially acute in San Diego, once a citadel of Republicanism, where Democratic candidates walked away with four districts that had been solidly in the GOP camp when the Supreme Court first issued the new redistricting maps. Statewide, Democrats poached seven of the 37 seats that in February had been rated solid for Republicans. Democrats swept all six of the seats that leaned toward the GOP, and all six of the toss-up seats. Republicans, on the other hand, won no solidly Democratic district, and only one — the 17th by incumbent Dean Andal — that leaned toward Democrats.

Thus, far from capturing control of the Assembly, Republican numbers actually dwindled from 33 to 32 as Democrats increased their majority from 47 to 48 seats.

DISTRICT 1 (54% D - 31% R)

Hauser *	**D**	**96,837**	**(57%)**
Sparks	R	57,695	(34%)
McGee	G	9,643	(6%)
Elizondo	P	4,407	(3%)

Democrats feared that five-term incumbent Dan Hauser could be vulnerable to massive Democratic defections to a third party candidate (as happened two years ago to North Coast Democratic Congressman Doug Bosco, who lost his seat to a Republican), so they put him on their "Red Alert" list. But Hauser easily triumphed over Humboldt County Supervisor Anna Sparks, who had earned the nickname "Chainsaw Annie" early in the campaign for her ties to the timber industry. (Her campaign was largely funded by timber and logging companies and her campaign manager was a former Louisiana-Pacific public relations executive.) Two days after he won re-election, Hauser, a former Arcata mayor, became a candidate again, this time for the state Senate seat of Democrat Barry Keene, who said the day after the election — and midway through his fourth term — that he was quitting politics. (Keene's Senate district includes Hauser's Assembly district.) Hauser was thought to be facing a tough race because, although the Sierra Club's favorite candidate in 1982, he had alienated the group of late by supporting compromise legislation the Sierra Club opposed (and that later was killed) regulating the cutting of old-growth forests. As it turned out, Democrats remained loyal to their party's candidate and Hauser had little to fear from third party candidates. Nor did he have much to fear from Sparks, who was strongly identified as a supporter of jobs over the environment and who aired a television ad in which she waved a chainsaw in the air while declaring, "I don't give a rip about being politically correct." Her support was stronger in the northern-most counties of the district, but fell way off in Sonoma and Lake counties, and in no county did she win a majority.

DISTRICT 2 (44% D - 43% R)

Statham *	**R**	**95,508**	**(65%)**
Brashears	D	51,860	(35%)

In one of the quieter races of the 1992 election season, Stan Statham was returned for a ninth term to represent this

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Northern California district straddling Interstate 5 to the Oregon border. Without any third party candidates to distract them, voters gave Statham one of the highest cross-over votes for a Republican candidate in California, enabling him to handily defeat Democrat Bill Brashears, a former Chico councilman. Statham outspent his opponent 13-to-1 between July 1st and October 17th.

Richter *Hatamiya*

DISTRICT 3 (43% D - 42% R)

Richter	**R**	**79,635**	**(52%)**
Hatamiya	D	58,580	(38%)
Vallis	L	16,380	(11%)

Ugliness prevailed in this rural northeastern California district, even if Bernie Richter, a one-time Butte County supervisor and owner of liquor and video stores, got the most votes. Richter himself concedes that racism contributed to his win over Japanese-American Lon Hatamiya, and he added that he believes that the racism was inflamed in part by Hatamiya's campaign. Both campaigns resorted to name-calling: Hatamiya's called Richter a porn peddler because his video stores rent R-rated videos. (Richter said he doesn't rent X-rated videos, and pulls R-rated videos from the shelves if they offend his customers.) Richter, 61, accused Hatamiya, 33, of trying to pass himself off as a farmer when his chief employment has been as a lawyer and education consultant. Hatamiya replied that he'd been involved in his family's 1200-acre farm since he was 10, and that his law and business degrees were useful in its operations. This was the second try for an Assembly seat by both candidates. Richter, who until two years was a Democrat, ran in 1976 but got knocked out in the primary. Hatamiya ran a close race against incumbent Republican Chris Chandler two years ago, getting 46 percent of the vote when Democratic registration was just 43 percent. Democrats were hopeful that despite registration odds stacked against them, their candidate could do well against Richter, an anti-abortion conservative who defeated six moderates in the primary. But voters readily embraced Richter's brand of conservativism. On the sidelines was Libertarian Vicki Vallis, a professional Marilyn Monroe impersonator. Vallis gathered 11 percent of the vote, the third highest of any Libertarian running in California.

DISTRICT 4 (42% D - 45% R)

Knowles *	**R**	**88,238**	**(56%)**
Norberg	D	56,006	(36%)
Hines	L	13,402	(9%)

This was encyclopedia salesman Mark Norberg's second try for elective office, with the first as a write-in candidate in a 1991 special election for the Assembly seat won by B.T. Collins. But he proved to be no match in this conservative district for incumbent David Knowles, who had considerable backing from the religious right. Knowles, 40, has a bachelor's degree in social work from Oral Roberts University and gained notoriety last year for his sexually explicit speech on the Assembly floor in opposition to a gay rights measure.

DISTRICT 5 (45% D - 43% R)

Collins *	**R**	**88,965**	**(59%)**
Barry	D	62,938	(41%)

Vastly outspent by incumbent B.T. Collins, Democrat Joan Barry, executive director of Serve Our Seniors (a non-profit organization that serves low-cost meals to seniors), nevertheless put up a spirited campaign. But Collins, a pro-choice moderate, had his toughest fight in the primary when he defeated Christian right candidate Barbara Alby 52-48 in their second match. (She ran against him in the 1991 special election.) Last summer, when Collins removed the term "incumbent" from his ballot designation, Barry tried to spread the word that he was attempting to deceive voters in a year when being an incumbent was perceived to be a liability. But Collins playfully retorted that he would be hurt if people didn't already know he was the incumbent. The Barry campaign followed up that if the pundits had called this The Year of the Woman, what tactic could they expect from Collins next?

Bronshvag *Aramburu*

DISTRICT 6 (54% D - 30% R)

Bronshvag	**D**	**94,606**	**(54%)**
Aramburu	R	69,281	(39%)
McAfee	L	8,356	(5%)
Persily	P	4,408	(3%)

Voters in this North Bay, Democratic-leaning district elected a Democrat for the first time in 14 years, giving Vivien Bronshvag a 15-point victory over Al Aramburu to replace Republican Bill Filante (who ran this year for Congress and was defeated). Had he won, Aramburu, the son of Mexican immigrants, would have been the first Republican Latino elected to the Assembly since 1914. But Aramburu, a Marin County supervisor for 11 years and owner of a 150-person business, couldn't fork over anything close to the $300,000 Bronshvag was willing to withdraw from her family savings to run her race. (She raised a total of $633,000; he raised $244,000.) Aramburu's accusations that Bronshvag had a "conflict of interest" because her physician/husband profits from the current workers' compensation system drew a vigorous rebuttal in the local newspaper from Bronshvag, who noted that insurance companies donated to Aramburu's campaign while she refused to accept their donations. (If, in fact, they offered any.)

DISTRICT 7 (57% D - 31% R)

V.Brown	**D**	**94,026**	**(61%)**
Nicholas	R	54,996	(36%)
Sutley	P	6,024	(4%)

An impressive voter-registration drive in this North Bay district that signed on 17,423 new Democrats (raising the district total from 54 percent to 57 percent since February) no doubt contributed to Valerie Brown's victory. But Brown, a Sonoma councilwoman who survived a grueling primary then went on to trounce Republican Janet Nicholas by a 25 percent margin on Election Day, obviously had more going for her than that — including Pete Wilson's unpopularity in Sonoma, Napa and Solano counties. What's Wilson got to do with Nicholas? He appointed her to the state Board of Prison Terms in 1991 (a post she abandoned the Sonoma County Board of Supervisors to accept), then recruited her to run for the Assembly. (She left the prison board after nine months to run the race, and by then, her critics were calling her a "quitter.") Brown tagged Nicholas an "incumbent" not because she *was* an incumbent for this open seat, but because of her backing by Wilson, and the fact she'd been a supervisor for six years and a county planning commissioner for 12 years. Nicholas retaliated by underscoring Brown's relative inexperience in politics (Brown was elected to the City Council in 1990.) She further piled on her scorn for Brown by sending a mailer to 200,000 potential voters titled "Um...", as in, "My opponent can't articulate why she's qualified for the Assembly."

DISTRICT 8 (52% D - 33% R)

Hannigan *	**D**	**79,939**	**(58%)**
Ford	R	50,670	(37%)
Fields	L	7,901	(6%)

Assembly Majority Leader Tom Hannigan beat back a third attempt by Dixon agricultural consultant John Ford to unseat him, but by the smallest margin yet: just 21 percentage points. That's down from 22 points in 1990 and 35 points in 1988.

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DISTRICT 9 (66% D - 33% R)

Isenberg *	**D**	**80,351**	**(66%)**
Reade	R	32,308	(27%)
Geiselhart	G	8,718	(7%)

Self-employed political consultant David Reade, 28, knew he was looking at almost impossible odds to defeat five-term incumbent Phil Isenberg. But he was counting on the votes that might come to him from an angry electorate, which turned out to be not so angry at Isenberg.

DISTRICT 10 (47% D - 42% R)

Bowler	**R**	**82,594**	**(53%)**
Albiani	D	66,792	(44%)
Delany	A	4,180	(3%)
Farina	L	3,556	(2%)

Democrats essentially told Elk Grove school board member Kay Albiani to take a hike after she endorsed Ross Perot for president last June. Her resounding loss to former Sacramento sheriff's lieutenant Larry Bowler, who was backed by conservative Republican legislators, reflects that abandonment. Albiani, who runs a livestock business, had only $5 in her campaign coffers at the September 30th reporting period (and unpaid bills totaling $58,000, compared to Bowler's $79,000 cash-on-hand and $14,500 in debt). But she nevertheless came up with money for some last-minute television ads saying she agreed with portions of the Perot platform. But as Perot got only 21 percent of the popular vote in California, that may not have helped as much as she wished. Most of Albiani's contributions came from education, real estate and labor groups and the Democratic Party. The largest contribution to Bowler's campaign — $60,000 — came from the Allied Business PAC, a group of wealthy businessmen from the religious right. Much of Bowler's other contributions came from political groups, law enforcement and gun lobbies. A 30-year veteran of the Sheriff's Department, Bowler was so confident of victory that he announced his resignation from the department well before Election Day, to take effect three days before the election. He had been on leave from his job as south county night watch commander during the campaign.

DISTRICT 11 (54% D - 31% R)

Campbell *	**D**	**111,019**	**(100%)**

Five-term incumbent Bob Campbell had no opponent in the primary, either.

DISTRICT 12 (61% D - 20% R)

Burton *	**D**	**83,749**	**(65%)**
Jenkins	R	33,554	(26%)
Reese	P	8,078	(6%)
Sherwood	L	3,157	(3%)

"We more than met all of our goals and objectives," the Storm Jenkins campaign announced jubilantly in a post-election fax. Apparently winning wasn't one of the goals. Jenkins did manage to enliven the race by attempting to knock Burton's name off the ballot, saying he didn't meet state residency requirements because he didn't live in the district he hoped to represent. But a Superior Court judge ruled that only the Legislature itself — or voters — can determine a legislator's qualifications.

DISTRICT 13 (65% D - 15% R)

W.Brown Jr. *	**D**	**102,405**	**(70%)**
Sidline	R	27,830	(19%)
Medina	P	11,869	(8%)
Valverde	L	5,231	(4%)

Officially, Democrats will choose the Assembly speaker when they convene again in December. Unofficially, the votes were cast in dozens of Assembly districts throughout the state; Willie Brown's team did far too well this year, gaining one more seat in the Assembly for a total of 48, for a challenger to appear on the horizon.

DISTRICT 14 (70% D - 12% R)

Bates *	**D**	**118,853**	**(82%)**
Feinland	P	25,729	(18%)

Former Alameda County Supervisor Tom Bates, elected to the Assembly in 1976, sits in an oh-so-safe Democratic district.

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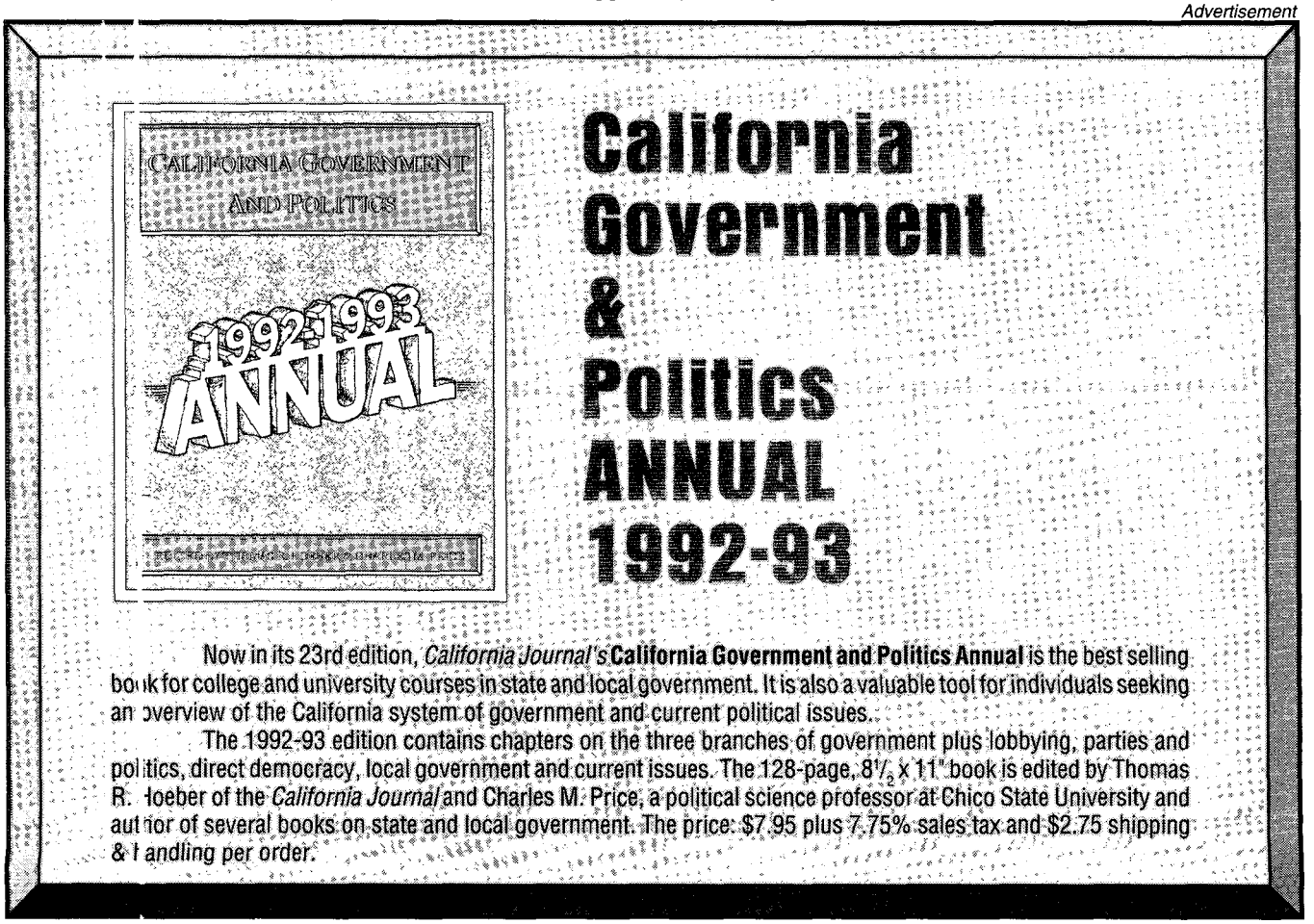
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DISTRICT 15 (38% D - 48% R)

Rainey	**R**	**102,764**	**(58%)**
Brydon	D	74,049	(42%)

Popular Contra Costa County Sheriff/Coroner Richard Rainey had no trouble defeating education consultant Charles Brydon for the seat vacated by Bill Baker, who went on to be elected to Congress. In the three-month period ending September 30th, Rainey raised $112,800 to Brydon's $6484.

DISTRICT 16 (70% D - 16% R)

Lee *	**D**	**85,580**	**(75%)**
Anderson	R	22,178	(20%)
Mar	P	6,174	(5%)

Barbara Lee, a former staffer for Congressman Ron Dellums, had no primary challenger and little to fear in November, either.

Machado

Andal

DISTRICT 17 (56% D - 34% R)

Andal *	**R**	**57,851**	**(50%)**
Machado	D	56,793	(49%)

Before absentee ballots had been counted, it looked as if farmer Michael Machado had beaten incumbent Dean Andal for this San Joaquin County-based district. No one was celebrating in the Machado camp, however, because there were about 15,000 uncounted absentee ballots floating around, and they knew Republicans had mounted an aggressive absentee ballot drive. As it turned out, those absentee ballots are what saved the day for Andal, who was losing to Machado by more than 1000 votes before they were counted, but who won by 1058 after they were counted. Andal, who was elected to the Assembly a year and a half ago, garnered 50.3 percent to Machado's 49.4 percent. The delay may have cost Andal a chance to become minority leader. He apparently lobbied hard for the job, but doubt about his victory caused his colleagues to chose Jim Brulte instead. This was the second time in recent history that one candidate from this same area got more votes on Election Day but saw his lead slip away later. In 1980 San Joaquin County Supervisor Adrian Fondse, a Republican, defeated Patrick Johnston — then an aide to John Garamendi — on Election Day by 67 votes. Fondse actually was sworn in, but a Johnston-demanded recount showed the Democrat winning by 25 votes.

DISTRICT 18 (60% D - 26% R)

Klehs *	**D**	**83,710**	**(65%)**
Grundman	R	35,494	(28%)
Floyd	L	8,812	(7%)

Johan Klehs, chairman of the Assembly Revenue and Tax Committee, heads to Sacramento for a sixth term after defeating San Leandro chiropractor Don Grundman — just as he did two years ago.

DISTRICT 19 (55% D - 30% R)

Speier *	**D**	**101,635**	**(75%)**
Berger	R	33,527	(25%)

Jackie Speier, who was a legislative assistant to the late Congressman Leo Ryan, faced minimal opposition from Ellyne Berger, who didn't raise any money for her campaign in the three months ending September 30th.

DISTRICT 20 (51% D - 33% R)

Eastin *	**D**	**78,967**	**(64%)**
Batara	R	43,584	(36%)

Incumbent Delaine Eastin, chairwoman of the Assembly Education Committee, easily won election to a fourth term. A frequent spokeswoman for the Democrats in battles over school funding, she is a former Union City councilwoman who, before being elected to the Assembly, was a corporate planner for Pacific Telesis and a community college teacher. Lindy Batara, a 70-year-old paralegal and editor for a Bay Area Filipino newspaper, was the surpise winner of a four-way primary. A conservative who opposes bilingual education, sex education and government-funded abortions, he previously had made two losing bids for the Fremont City Council.

DISTRICT 21 (48% D - 36% R)

Sher *	**D**	**97,205**	**(64%)**
La Fetra	R	49,823	(33%)
Sapowsky-Smith	L	5,454	(4%)

Campaigning against incumbent Byron Sher because she said "being a nice guy is no longer enough," former Menlo Park Mayor Jan La Fetra had some Democrats nervous, since redistricting raised Republican registration in Sher's district from 32 percent to 38 percent. But the six-term incumbent, who is the author of the Clean Air Act, brushed off the challenge from La Fetra, a pro-choice moderate who runs a small business from her home. La Fetra and four other South Bay Republican candidates may have been harmed by some mail attacks posted in late October that were described as "below-the-belt" even by the Republicans they were meant to help. The brochures were prepared by a conservative political committee, the Fund for a Responsible Legislature, with $17,000 the group got from Governor Pete Wilson's political committee. The brochures, splattered with blood-red ink, and entitled "Blood on the Street," charged that the four Democratic incumbents (Sher, Rusty Areias, Sam Farr and Steve Peace) were soft on crime.

Vasconcellos

Jeffries

DISTRICT 22 (49% D - 34% R)

Vasconcellos *	**D**	**76,933**	**(55%)**
Jeffries	R	55,172	(39%)
Goodwyn	L	8,780	(6%)

For the first time in 12 years, John Vasconcellos, chairman of the Assembly Ways and Means Committee and arguably the second most powerful member of the Assembly, expected to have a very tough race. Republican leaders had placed his district — where reapportionment initially boosted Republican registration from 29 percent to 37 percent — on their list of high-priority contests. But an energetic Democratic voter registration drive that added 3019 new Democratic voters (at the cost of 1764 Republicans) and an investment of shoe-leather in the district helped strengthen his chances against Santa Clara Councilman Tim Jeffries. Much of Vasconcellos' financial backing came from groups grateful to him for fighting Wilson's budget proposals, whereas Jeffries, a 29-year-old sales executive for an electronics firm, received substantial backing (about $75,000) from the labor union of state prison guards, who had targeted Vasconcellos for defeat because he was an outspoken critic of the state's prison boom, and also was one of the signers of a ballot argument opposing a $450 million prison bond issue last year. Jeffries, who said his brother was murdered 11 years ago, favors the death penalty, and charged that Vasconcellos — who opposes the death penalty — lacked sympathy for crime victims.

DISTRICT 23 (61% D - 24% R)

Cortese *	**D**	**51,047**	**(66%)**
Valladares	R	25,934	(34%)

Former Santa Clara County Supervisor Dominic Cortese had a safe registration advantage over Monica Valladares, a saleswoman who is active in Republican Party organizations. But the basketball team he owned, the Bakersfield Jammers, which moved from San Jose in May, was disbanded by the the Continental Basketball Association when Cortese filed for Chapter 7 bankruptcy in late 1991.

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DISTRICT 24 (44% D - 41% R)

Quackenbush *	**R**	**78,705**	**(49%)**
Beall Jr.	D	71,149	(44%)
Ludemann	L	10,546	(7%)

Three-term incumbent Charles Quackenbush almost challenged Democratic Congressman Norm Mineta this year rather than run for a fourth term in the Assembly. But he decided against it, and quickly discovered he might be in trouble when urban planner James Beall, a 12-year veteran of the San Jose City Council, got 2000 more votes than he did in the June primary. (Both candidates ran unopposed.) Some of the low points of the campaign were Quackenbush claiming the endorsement of the San Jose Teachers Association, which the group's president denied. (In fact, the California Teachers' Association gave Quackenbush a "D" rating in 1991.) He also falsely accused Beall of traveling to Costa Rica at city expense, but corrected his literature after Beall complained. Beall, meanwhile, criticized Quackenbush for collecting his salary and daily expense payments during last summer's budget impasse. But he failed to mention that Quackenbush voluntarily returned the salary and expense payments for July.

Snyder

Keating-Edh

DISTRICT 25 (49% D - 41% R)

Snyder	**D**	**71,707**	**(51%)**
Keating-Edh	R	67,752	(49%)

In a race that pitted a liberal Democrat against a conservative Republican, voters here opted for the former. Modesto school board member Margaret Snyder bested Barbara Keating-Edh, founder of Consumer Alert (an organization that lobbies for free markets) by less than 3 percent. Keating-Edh, who handily defeated five men to win the nomination (and who once ran for the U.S. Senate in New York under the Conservative Party banner), said Snyder's last-minute radio ad featuring consumer advocate Ralph Nader helped sink her campaign. Nader, a long time Keating-Edh adversary who has tangled with her in the courts, said her group was a front for big business, an accusation she vehemently denied. Keating-Edh said that she and Nader just disagree on what's in the best interest of consumers, and said during the campaign that "You can't make government a nanny." Snyder, who defeated three men in the primary, is a former legal secretary and community volunteer who was named Stanislaus County "Woman of the Year" in 1992. Early in the campaign, she vowed to "go after the 8000 Republican women who registered (to vote) as 'Ms.'"

DISTRICT 26 (54% D - 34% R)

Cannella *	**D**	**50,390**	**(57%)**
Weimer	R	31,029	(35%)
Parks	L	7,169	(8%)

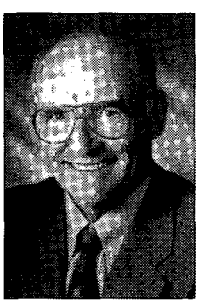
Redistricting boosted Democratic registration in Sal Cannella's district, and he coasted to victory over Atwater Councilman Scott Weimer.

DISTRICT 27 (51% D - 31% R)

Farr *	**D**	**94,852**	**(61%)**
Whitman	R	54,460	(35%)
Lucier	P	6,584	(4%)

The Republicans talked about making a surprise attack on incumbent Democrat Sam Farr. After all, the distict has just barely a majority of Democrats. Okay, so the Republicans are just over 30 percent, and they dropped 2 percent since the first of the year. You've got to try to scare somebody, don't you? Well, Farr didn't scare, and he didn't really have to worry. Although the voters along this district in Santa Cruz and Monterey counties may not register as Democrats, they vote with them. Farr had an easy victory.

Areias



Frusetta

DISTRICT 28 (52% D - 34% R)

Areias *	**D**	**60,749**	**(59%)**
Frusetta	R	41,959	(41%)

In the mud-slinging sweepstakes, one of the top awards surely belongs to the campaign of cattleman Peter Frusetta, who challenged 10-term incumbent Rusty Areias. The peak (or valley, depending on your perspective) was the allegation that Areias had used drugs. The evidence? Areias' appearance: "We noticed the sometime puffy face, a constant fidgeting and a sudden flush of complexion," said Gordon Bloyer, Frusetta's campaign manager. Other evidence? His "strange behavior," noted by "many, many people." Such as? According to Bloyer, Areias arrived 20 minutes late for a Capitol meeting with members of the Watsonville City Council, ate a pear during the meeting, then left after only 15 or 20 minutes. Bloyer said Areias did "exactly the same thing" with a group of restaurateurs. More evidence? A female member of Areias' family (who never came forward) said he used drugs, according to Bloyer. In a prepared statement, Areias denied the allegations, and even Frusetta said his campaign manager had acted without his approval, and apologized. Frusetta, whose chief political experience was serving on the Tres Pinos Water District board, said he voted for Areias four times, but never forgave him for rejoining the Assembly leadership after having been part of the so-called Gang of Five attempt to oust Speaker Willie Brown in 1988.

DISTRICT 29 (45% D - 44% R)

Jones *	**R**	**114,198**	**(100%)**

Earlier this year, Republicans were licking their chops over a new redistricting plan they hoped would help them make significant gains and — dare they dream? — even win majority control in the Assembly, where Democrats held 47 of 80 seats going into the election. But weakened by an almost non-existent presidential campaign in the state and a struggle between moderates and conservatives within the party, they not only failed to unseat a single Democratic incumbent, they sat by as Democrats defeated two GOP Assembly members: Tricia Hunter in San Diego, and Gerald Felando in Los Angeles. To make matters worse for Assembly Leader Bill Jones, who was a major force behind the Republicans' campaign effort, six GOP candidates who won election ran with significant backing from a relatively new coalition of gun-control opponents, conservative Christians and anti-abortion forces who won't necessarily ally themselves with Jones' big ally — Governor Pete Wilson. Taking responsibility for this horrible outcome, Jones, a moderate from Fresno, announced the day after the election that he was stepping down from his post, and the Republican caucus replaced him with Jim Brulte, a conservative from Ontario.

DISTRICT 30 (57% D - 32% R)

Costa *	**D**	**47,751**	**(65%)**
Hurt	R	25,573	(35%)

In a third rematch, seven-term incumbent Jim Costa, chair of the Democratic Caucus and the third-ranking member of the Assembly, defeated aircraft mechanic Gerald Hurt, who captured 35 percent of the vote this year and 38 percent of the vote in 1990. Costa has said he will seek the 16th District Senate seat soon to be vacated by state Senator Don Rogers of Bakersfield, who won election to the new 17th Senate District.

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DISTRICT 31 (63% D - 27% R)

Bronzan *	**D**	**53,743**	**(100%)**

Eight days before the election, five-term incumbent Bruce Bronzan announced he was resigning because he was frustrated with the state's budget crisis (particularly the $2 billion worth of health cuts he dealt with as chair of the Assembly Health and Welfare Committee) and because voter-imposed term limits left him with no future in the Assembly. Bronzan, who would have reached his term limit in 1996, will become an associate dean at the U.C. San Francisco-Fresno medical education program based in Fresno. The 45-year-old legislator will be paid about $125,000 per year, more than double his base pay of $52,500 per year as a legislator. Bronzan's departure leaves the 31st District — which takes in parts of Fresno and Tulare counties — unrepresented until a special election can be held, probably some time in the spring. The district is strongly Democratic and 52 percent Latino. Bronzan's district administrator, Cruz Bustamonte, is already out campaigning to succeed his boss.

DISTRICT 32 (42% D - 47% R)

Harvey *	**R**	**82,342**	**(65%)**
Carson	D	40,103	(32%)
Laing	L	3,481	(3%)

Finally, Republican Trice Harvey's Arkansas drawl has come into vogue.

DISTRICT 33 (39% D - 45% R)

Seastrand *	**R**	**79,019**	**(55%)**
Ashbaugh	D	58,178	(40%)
McClenathan	L	6,635	(5%)

This is solid Republican territory in San Luis Obispo and northern Santa Barbara County. It has been sending members of the GOP to the Legislature for years. Andrea Seastrand replaced her husband in 1990 after his death and had little trouble holding onto the seat this year. She'll be a faithful, if unexciting, member of the conservative faction in the Assembly for the next two years.

DISTRICT 34 (39% D - 47% R)

Honeycutt	**R**	**78,424**	**(64%)**
Green	D	43,742	(36%)

Heading into this election season way way way back around the first of the year, Republican Kathleen Honeycutt was not the best known candidate to seek the 34th District seat. That honor probably went to Apple Valley's Dick Pearson, a former fighter pilot and city councilman who had led the movement to split the desert portions of San Bernardino County into California's 59th county. Even Kathy Davis, another Apple Valley councilwoman, was probably better known than Honeycutt. But the 34th is a sprawling enclave, bigger physically than any other Assembly district in the state as it runs up the Nevada border from Riverside County to Mono County, then juts west to sheer off part of Kern County. And the key to winning it was not name recognition in San Berdoo. The key was organization. And Honeycutt put it together early. She had phone banks up and running as early as March. Backed by anti-abortion groups and fundamentalist Christians, Honeycutt had out-raised her nearest rival by $40,000 — during the first three months of 1992. Thus, despite an open seat vacated when Republican Phil Wyman decided to run for Congress, despite a large field of nine GOP wanna-bes elbowing to succeed Wyman, this race was over before it began. Heading into the fall, Democrat Joe Green didn't have a chance. With district registration heavily favoring the GOP, Honeycutt cruised to victory. A conservative, she now adds to the right's domination of the Assembly GOP caucus.

DISTRICT 35 (46% D - 37% R)

O'Connell *	**D**	**104,519**	**(67%)**
Ebenstein	R	51,281	(33%)

For Jack O'Connell, this election was fat city. Why, the Democratic registration surge pushed his registration margin from 3 percent to 9 percent. Okay, that only pushed Democratic registation up to 46 percent in this southern Santa Barbara County and northern Ventura County district. But for O'Connell, who works his turf tirelessly between elections, that's like a good 60 percent margin elsewhere. He ran nearly 20 points ahead of registration, unheard of for a Democrat, even when the tides are running their way. Republicans occasionally think this district should belong to them, and they had a spirited campaigner in challeger Lanny Ebenstein. But the voters here, even the Republicans, are sympathetic to the social and environmental views of the Democrats and so far, at least at the legislative level, the GOP's wishes have gone unfulfilled.

DISTRICT 36 (35% D - 51% R)

Knight	**R**	**73,788**	**(58%)**
Rodio	D	43,055	(34%)
Tisbert	L	10,627	(8%)

This new district in the Antelope and Santa Clarita valleys north of Los Angeles has been wanting its own seat in the Legislature for years. Reapportionment finally gave it to them, and it's solid Republican territory. The action here was all in the primary when a field of eight fought it out. The winner was William "Pete" Knight, the former mayor of Palmdale. To get there, he had to hold off a concerted attack by Hunt Braly, an administrative assistant to former state Senator Ed Davis. But Knight and the others tagged Braly as a carpetbagger (he had to move to run) and that was the kiss of death in a district where hometown feelings run strong. With his background in local government, Knight could add a pragmatic air to the Assembly Republican caucus. He should have little trouble holding this district for the six years that term limits allow.

DISTRICT 37 (40% D — 44% R)

Takasugi	**R**	**61,758**	**(51%)**
McGrath	D	53,572	(44%)
Harner	L	7,028	(6%)

This district opened up when incumbent Tom McClintock decided to run for Congress. McClintock lost, but his Assembly seat remained in the hands of the GOP. But where McClintock was a libertarian conservative, Nao Takasugi, the mayor of Oxnard, is much more pragmatic and he can be expected to join the dwindling ranks of GOP moderates in the Assembly. He'll also be the

★ ★ Elected Women ★ ★

BEFORE	Seats	Percentage
Assembly	17	21.3%
State Senate	5	12.5%
House	3	6.7%
U.S. Senate	0	—
AFTER		
Assembly	22	27.5%
State Senate	6	15%
House	7	13.45%
U.S. Senate	2	100%

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only Asian-American in the Legislature. There have been no Asians in either house since Paul Bannai left a dozen years ago. Takasugi's victory was closer than Republicans would have liked. Still, there was little that Roz McGrath, a farmer and teacher, could do to overcome the GOP's registration advantage.

DISTRICT 38 (41% D - 46% R)

Boland *	**R**	**72,616**	**(53%)**
Cohen	D	56,262	(41%)
Cutler	L	7,691	(6%)

Paula Boland may want to take note. Although she managed to win, she got just 53 percent of the vote in one of the more Republican districts in the state. Furthermore, her opponent, Howard Cohen, spent a grand total of about $5000. True, Democrats were working hard to try and win a congressional race in this same area, which straddles Los Angeles and Ventura counties, so maybe they did a better job than usual of getting folks to the polls. Still Boland better be wary, lest they turn their guns on her next time.

DISTRICT 39 (62% D - 27% R)

Katz *	**D**	**42,845**	**(70%)**
Fitzgerald	R	15,630	(25%)
George	L	3,079	(5%)

Now, here's a tidy victory for someone who really wants to run for mayor of Los Angeles. Richard Katz can be comforted in knowing that at least the folks in the central San Fernando Valley like him. And that's not a bad start for a mayoral wanna-be. Indeed, Katz' only worry here is that one day the minority groups, who make up the majority of the population in this district, will register, vote, and want one of their own as a representative. Until then, Anglos make up a majority of the voting population here. Of course, by then Katz hopes to be mayor.

DISTRICT 40 (56% D - 30% R)

B.Friedman *	**D**	**62,741**	**(58%)**
Heidt	R	32,167	(30%)
Glasser	P	5,482	(5%)
Bailey	G	3,841	(4%)
Vernon	L	3,322	(3%)

When the election season started, Barbara Friedman was homeless. Reapportionment had cut the number of Democratic districts on the west side of Los Angeles, and as low woman on the electoral totem pole, Friedman appeared to be out of luck. Just as she was getting ready to run against incumbent Republican Pat Nolan, Assemblyman Tom Bane, after 24 years in the Assembly, decided to retire. Friedman moved north to the San Fernando Valley, where she had grown up, and held off three primary challengers. Her district, now is safely Democratic and she had little trouble holding off a challenge by band leader Horace Heidt Jr.

T. Friedman

Reed

DISTRICT 41 (50% D - 37% R)

T.Friedman *	**D**	**94,492**	**(56%)**
Reed	R	65,593	(39%)
Sykes Jr.	L	8,884	(5%)

Republicans only pretended to run at some Democratic incumbents, but they really went after Terry Friedman. This district that includes Santa Monica and then traverses the coast foothills into the western San Fernando Valley, is only marginally Democratic, and there once was a time when liberal Republicans held sway here. The GOP thought it had a chance with former Santa Monica Councilwoman Christine Reed, a moderate with environmental credentials who is well-known in the district. Friedman, on the other hand,

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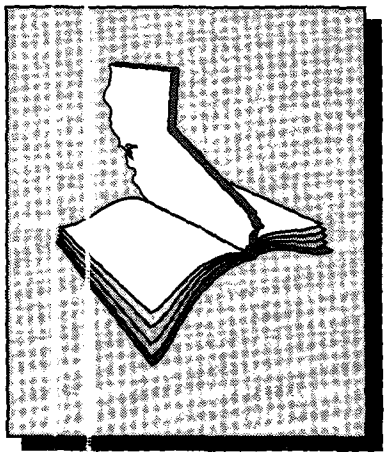

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is one of the more liberal members of the Assembly. Each side poured more than $500,000 into the district. In the end, the GOP discovered it was trying to swim upstream. This was not the year that Republicans were going to steal away seats from Democrats. Maybe in 1994.

DISTRICT 42 (59% D - 25% R)

Margolin *	**D**	**105,728**	**(68%)**
Davis	R	40,770	(26%)
Burdick	P	5,314	(3%)
Rotter	L	4,147	(3%)

Incumbent Burt Margolin ended up with the best Democratic district on the west side of Los Angeles. A hard worker who has taken on the ticklish task of trying to reform the state's workers' compensation system, Margolin has little to worry about on the electoral front.

DISTRICT 43 (43% D - 42% R)

Nolan *	**R**	**59,297**	**(56%)**
Graham	D	40,453	(38%)
Bajada	L	6,844	(6%)

Whoops. The registration in this district, which surrounds Glendale north of downtown Los Angeles, slipped into the Democratic column when nobody was looking. Okay, so it didn't slip far enough for a Democrat to win, but it would have been interesting to see what would have happened if Assemblywoman Barbara Friedman had actually ended up running here. As it was, she found a more congenial home to the west, and incumbent Pat Nolan, who, after three years is still under a cloud from the FBI's sting operation, cruised into an eighth term in the Assembly.

DISTRICT 44 (44% D - 43% R)

Hoge	**R**	**69,108**	**(51%)**
Fuhrman	D	61,091	(45%)
Saurenman	L	5,861	(4%)

Democrats may have missed an opportunity by not trying to win this open seat in the Pasadena-La Canada-Flintridge area. True, the registration favors the GOP, but the Republican primary featured a bumper crop of 10 candidates. The winner was Pasadena businessman William Hoge, who won with the support of party conservatives and fundamentalist Christian groups. Democrats attacked those candidates with good results elsewhere, but held off here. On Election Day, Hoge received just a bare majority of the vote, despite the fact that Democrat Jonathan Fuhrman spent a grand total of about $5000 on his campaign. It may be too late now, and if it's not too late, it will be a lot more expensive next time.

DISTRICT 45 (62% D - 22% R)

Polanco *	**D**	**34,880**	**(65%)**
Hedrick	R	13,703	(26%)
Gomez	P	5,026	(9%)

With his own home district secure, Assemblyman Richard Polanco spent most of this election involved in Democratic primaries in other Latino districts around Los Angeles, and he met with pretty good success. Now, he finds himself in the position being the senior Latino in the state Assembly, the others having all gone onto greener political pastures. And reapportionment has handed him a bumper crop of bright, articulate proteges to work with.

DISTRICT 46 (65% D - 20% R)

Caldera	**D**	**20,027**	**(73%)**
Osborne	R	5,704	(21%)
Peters	P	1,218	(4%)
Everling	L	668	(2%)

If this was the year that the Latino voters were going to flex their muscle, you can't tell it by the number of votes cast in this district. There were about 27,000 votes cast for all candidates here, which is about 20 percent of the votes cast in some other Assembly districts. Those who did vote sent to office Louis Caldera, a West Point graduate with a Harvard law degree who is currently a deputy county counsel in Los Angeles. He was aligned with the Latino community faction that included Assemblyman Richard Polanco, Los Angeles City Councilman Richard Alatorre and state Senator Art Torres. The toughest part of his race was winning the primary against Berta Saavedra, an administrative assistant to Lucille Roybal-Allard, who left this Assembly seat to win a seat in Congress.

DISTRICT 47 (75% D - 14% R)

Moore *	**D**	**99,913**	**(81%)**
Leonard	R	16,847	(14%)
Hammill	L	4,651	(4%)
Saededdin	P	1,746	(1%)

Gwen Moore represents one of the most Democratic districts in the state in the Culver City and Crenshaw areas of Los Angeles. Still, it's sort of amazing when your party holds 75 percent of the registration and you still run a half-dozen points ahead of it.

DISTRICT 48 (88% D — 5% R)

Archie-Hudson *D		**53,268**	**(93%)**
Leonard	R	3,888	(7%)

It's hard to imagine where Democrats found still more voters to boost their numbers in this district, but they did, increasing their registration by 1 percent from the primary in this, the most Democratic district in the state. Incumbent Marguerite Archie-Hudson should talk personally with each of those 3888 GOP voters in the next year and see if she can't get 100 percent next time.

DISTRICT 49 (60% D - 26% R)

Martinez	**D**	**41,398**	**(57%)**
Wong	R	29,178	(40%)
Goldsworthy	L	2,749	(4%)

Diane Martinez, the daughter of Congressman Marty Martinez, finally won an Assembly seat on her second try. Two years ago she was defeated by Xavier Becerra, who's now on his way to Congress. And this time she had to win a tough primary against two strong opponents, Richard Fajardo and Richard Amador. But Martinez had the backing of Assemblyman Richard Polanco and the Berman-Waxman political machine that has been the patron of her father. Still, she was pushed harder by Sophie Wong in the general election than she would have liked. Wong ran a well-organized campaign and collected about $100,000 in contributions despite the fact that she got no significant help from the GOP and, in fact, outspent Martinez after the primary. There are a lot of Asians in this district, and their numbers are growing, which could mean trouble for Martinez in the future. Martinez' father has always had tough election contests and managed to hold on. Maybe the younger Martinez, too, will have to run tough campaigns to stay in office.

DISTRICT 50 (68% D - 21% R)

Escutia	**D**	**25,564**	**(75%)**
Miller	R	8,335	(25%)

This was another Latino district where the real contest was in the primary. In this case it was won by non-profit executive Marta Escutia with the backing of the Polanco-Alatorre-Torres faction. She beat another capable candidate, Pat Acosta, who was running with the support of LA County Supervisor Gloria Molina. The general election was no contest since this district is safe for Democrats.

DISTRICT 51 (71% D - 18% R)

Tucker Jr. *	**D**	**71,180**	**(82%)**
Hanley	L	10,474	(12%)
Williams	P	4,925	(6%)

Republicans didn't even bother with this district that includes Inglewood, Hawthorne and parts of South Central LA. The Tucker dynasty just keeps rolling on.

DISTRICT 52 (80% D - 11% R)

Murray Jr. *	**D**	**54,890**	**(100%)**

Willard Murray's problems were all in the primary when he faced two determined challengers. Fortunately for Murray, the two split the vote and he won renomination with 45 percent of the vote.

DISTRICT 53 (43% D - 41% R)

Bowen	**D**	**89,561**	**(55%)**
Parton	R	66,830	(41%)
Gaillard	L	7,682	(5%)

Democrats stole this district away from the Republicans. The GOP figured that, on registration alone, they should be entitled to win this open district on the southern part of the Palos Verdes Peninsula. An even half-dozen of them lined up to try for the nomination. The conservative wing of the party backed Huntington Beach Mayor Brad Parton, and he eventually won with just over a third of the vote. At least in this district, it was a bad choice.

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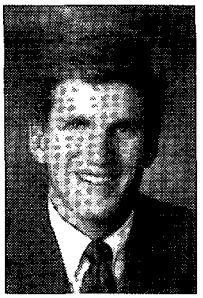
Bowen



Parton

Although Parton was enthusiastically embraced by Pete Wilson and his campaign group, Democrats hit Parton hard on his ties to fundamentalist Christian groups. Although the Republicans along the coast may be economic conservatives, on social issues they are more moderate, and Parton was clearly out of step. Furthermore, this area has been hit hard by the recession, and Reagan Democrats were looking for a reason to abandon the GOP. To make matters worse for Republicans, Democrats had several close races in this area and they did an excellent job of coordinating registration and get-out-the-vote efforts. The Democrats also had an excellent candidate in attorney Debra Bowen, and they didn't waste any resources on a primary fight. When the dust settled, Bowen was an easy winner.

Karnette

Felando

DISTRICT 54 (44% D - 43% R)

Karnette	**D**	**73,689**	**(53%)**
Felando *	R	60,296	(43%)
Fields	A	5,853	(4%)

Another theft by the Democrats. And for the most part, they didn't realize they'd picked up this trinket until Election Day. This seat belonged to incumbent Gerald Felando, and in the spring he had no inkling there would be trouble. He didn't count on Betty Karnette. Karnette is a longtime laborer in the Democratic vineyards, including serving time as a central committee member and as a Dukakis delgate to the national convention four years ago. She's a teacher at South Gate Middle School and has been active with teacher unions. Although Karnette raised quite a bit of money on her own, it was small potatoes by the standards used in an all-out race. Still, she showed enough that the Democrats added her name to some slate mailings. It apparently was enough. This was the area where Democrats were also trying to win a hotly contested congressional race. They did their homework, and it paid off. The recession has hurt this part of Los Angeles, around Long Beach, and voters abandoned the GOP in droves. Felando staffers were stunned. "We went to bed thinking things were okay, and when we woke up, we were out of a job," noted one Capitol staffer.

DISTRICT 55 (68% D - 20% R)

McDonald	**D**	**60,060**	**(83%)**
Anderson	L	12,383	(17%)

The thefts in this district all took place in the primary, and it was two incumbent Democrats who were the victims. Reapportionment left too few safe districts for all the Anglo, male incumbent Democrats, and this was one of the few districts around worth fighting for. Assemblymen Dick Floyd and Dave Elder both decided to run here, and the battle was loud and nasty. But while Floyd and Elder were keeping an eye on each other, they forgot about Juanita Mc-Donald, a councilwoman from Carson. While the boys were fighting, she captured 45 percent of the vote. Then she was the one who got a free ride in the general election.

DISTRICT 56 (50% D - 39% R)

Epple *	**D**	**57,548**	**(48%)**
Hawkins	R	56,189	(47%)
Gard	L	5,725	(5%)

This distict around Cerritos, Norwalk and Bellflower was the scene of perhaps the bloodiest Assembly campaign this year. Incumbent Bob Epple, who represented only a small part of the area, moved here in order to free up a nearby district — one with a much better Democratic registration edge — for a Latino candidate. Democrats promised to do all they could to help Epple. They managed to widen their registration margin by an additional 4 percent with an aggressive voter-registration drive this past summer. But the GOP, looking at the load of Reagan Democrats in this area, believed the district belonged to them. They had a good candidate in Norwalk resident Phil Hawkins, and in another year, they might have won. But not this year. Epple eked out a 1400-vote victory.

Epple

Hawkins

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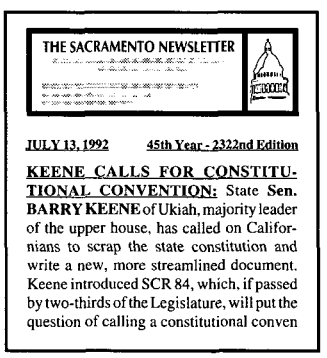

THE SACRAMENTO NEWSLETTER

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KEENE CALLS FOR CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION: State Sen. BARRY KEENE of Ukiah, majority leader of the upper house, has called on Californians to scrap the state constitution and write a new, more streamlined document. Keene introduced SCR 84, which, if passed by two-thirds of the Legislature, will put the question of calling a constitutional conven

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DISTRICT 57 (57% D - 31% R)

Solis	**D**	**41,944**	**(61%)**
Woods	R	23,070	(34%)
Dovner	L	3,307	(5%)

This district, which includes Azusa, Baldwin Park and El Monte, had been represented by Democrat Sally Tanner. But when she retired, it became possible for a Latino to win here. The two factions that jousted all over eastern Los Angeles fought here as well, and this time the group headed by LA County Supervisor Gloria Molina won with Rio Hondo Community College trustee Hilda Solis, who had little trouble beating Republican Gary Woods in the general election.

DISTRICT 58 (64% D - 27% R)

Napolitano	**D**	**59,074**	**(65%)**
Gow	R	25,398	(28%)
McCready	L	7,107	(8%)

Grace Napolitano had the support of the Polanco-Alatorre-Torres faction. She also had the official endorsement of the Assembly Democratic caucus, one of the few such endorsements given to a non-incumbent. Oh, yeah, she was able to seed her campaign with $100,000 for the primary against attorney Armando Duron, who had the support of Gloria Molina. When Napolitano won the primary, this contest was essentially over, since there was little Ken Gow of Whittier could do to win.

DISTRICT 59 (40% D - 48% R)

Mountjoy *	**R**	**73,667**	**(55%)**
Gelber	D	60,464	(45%)

Democrat Louise Gelber tried hard. She spent more than $100,000, and she clipped into Dick Mountjoy's victory margin. But there are some things even the tides can't change, and the GOP registration margin in the western San Gabriel Valley is one of them. Mountjoy should be pleased. The conservative faction in the Assembly Republican caucus is now bigger than ever.

DISTRICT 60 (44% D — 44% R)

Horcher *	**R**	**62,026**	**(55%)**
Caress	D	41,638	(37%)
Lewis	A	8,750	(8%)

Republicans in the eastern end of the San Gabriel Valley apparently are not ready to abandon the GOP just yet. That's good news for Paul Horcher, one of the more moderate of the Republicans. He was sent back to Sacramento with 55 percent of the vote.

DISTRICT 61 (46% D - 44% R)

Aguiar	**R**	**50,986**	**(58%)**
Simcoe	D	31,865	(36%)
Allaire	G	4,646	(5%)

Democrat Larry Simcoe, a fireman by trade, put up a spirited fight and succeeded in defeating Republican Fred Aguiar by 7 percent —in the Los Angeles County portion of this district. Unfortunately for Simcoe, 85 percent of district voters live in Republican precincts of San Bernardino County, and that's where Aguiar, the mayor of Chino, rolled up a huge margin of victory. Not that this race was ever in doubt. Aguiar, a former Democrat who gained endorsements from several area Democrats, had just about everything going his way: money, endorsements, name-recognition, money, a Hispanic-sounding name (he's Portuguese) in a 42 percent Latino district, money and — finally — money. Aguiar, who comes from non-partisan local government, probably will line up with moderates in the GOP caucus.

DISTRICT 62 (59% D - 31% R)

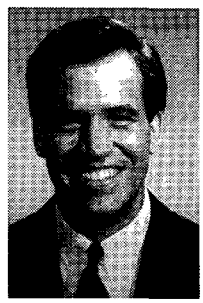
Baca	**D**	**50,100**	**(59%)**
Hall	R	29,879	(35%)
Haas	L	5,358	(6%)

Perseverance, thy name is Joe Baca. After two failed tries to get himself elected to the Assembly, the community college trustee finally won a ticket to Sacramento. In 1988 and 1990 Baca mounted futile primary challenges to incumbent Democrat Gerry Eaves. But this year Eaves obligingly got out of the way, opting instead to run for San Bernardino supervisor. Baca's biggest challenge came in the primary when he defeated Rialto Mayor John Longville, who had the backing of allies close to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr. Despite the help, Longville's campaign sputtered, and he finished third behind Baca and Lois Carson, also a college trustee. His primary win was convincing — 10 points over Carson, 16 points ahead of Longville — and that, as they say, was that. Although Baca brought some political baggage to the fray, Republican Steve Hall, a firefighter, couldn't raise enough money to exploit the uneasiness voters felt with Baca's tendency to engage in gutter campaigns. Potential donors had trouble seeing past the numbers — especially after a summer voter-registra tion drive upped the Democrats' advantage by 10,000 additional partisans.

DISTRICT 63 (41% D - 48% R)

Brulte *	**R**	**75,107**	**(56%)**
Westwood	D	42,066	(31%)
Desist	G	17,005	(13%)

The Democrats' voter-registration drive even made an inroad in this all-too-safe Republican bastion. But not enough of an inroad to cause freshman incumbent Jim Brulte to break a sweat; he floated to re-election. Two days later, Brulte won yet another election: He was named Assembly minority leader, replacing Fresno's Bill Jones, who resigned following the GOP's poor showing at the polls. With conservatives firmly in charge of a shrunken GOP caucus, Brulte must try to weld a fractious group into something of a meaningful legislative entity — a task that frustrated his two most recent predecessors. He also must try to forge an alliance with Governor Pete Wilson, who has been at odds with rightists.



Weggeland

Carney

DISTRICT 64 (45% D - 44% R)

Weggeland	**R**	**52,183**	**(47%)**
Carney	D	51,982	(47%)
Henson	L	6,204	(6%)

A toss-up from the get-go, the battle between Republican Ted Weggeland and Democrat Jane Carney was fiercely fought all through the election season, and when the dust cleared in the wee hours of November 4th, only 200 votes separated the pair, with a fair number of absentee ballots yet to be counted. On the surface, this Riverside County district should have been a snap for Weggeland, a moderate who is pro-choice and whose family has long connections to the district's business community. With the area rocked by a deep recession in the aerospace industry, he tried to seize the economy as *his* issue. But Carney, an attorney, proved no ordinary Democratic foe. A former president of the Riverside Downtown Association and member of the local chamber of commerce board, her business ties ran deeper than Weggeland's. Thus, the two camps squabbled over just which side would be better for business, with Carney calling attention often to the fact that Weggeland himself had precious little business experience since most of his professional career was spent as a legislative aide to Congressman Al McCandless. Both Republicans and Democrats poured in a boatload of money, with Weggeland raising and spending over $500,000; Carney's totals reaching $400,000. In the waning days, each campaign went negative. Weggeland attacked Carney for receiving more than $80,000 from lawyers. He also tied Carney to Assembly Speaker Willie Brown and to former Supreme Court Chief Justice Rose Bird. Carney tried to paint Weggeland, 29, as a callow youth with little experience beyond politics. She also sent out a mailer accusing Weggeland of being involved with a controversial savings-and-loan deal while working for a Washington, D.C., lobbyist. Depending on the force of his convictions, the pro-choice Weggeland probably will be counted among the moderate Republicans in Sacramento.

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DISTRICT 65 (42% D - 46% R)

Woodruff *	**R**	**65,255**	**(52%)**
Robb	D	48,486	(39%)
Geller	L	11,008	(9%)

Go ye and figure *this* out. The Republican candidate was Paul Woodruff, a two-term incumbent who was GOP caucus chairman for most of the year before heading up the re-election effort on behalf of Assembly Republicans. The Democrat was 74-year-old Alice Robb, whose election-year saga began when she ambushed local party activist Ray Strait in the June primary. Robb, you may remember, filed for election this past spring, then left this Riverside-San Bernardino County district for parts west: Pasadena, to be more precise, where she worked on behalf of her political guru — jailed prexy candidate Lyndon LaRouche. For the primary, Robb spent no money, did not campaign, did not even put up a lawn sign. The result? She got 60 percent of the primary vote. For the general election, Robb added a new tactic to her repertoire: She got herself repudiated by the Riverside County Democratic Party because of her connections to LaRouche. The result? Okay, she lost to Woodruff. But Robb actually polled 43 percent of the vote in Riverside County, compared with 48 percent for Woodruff. The Republican did much better in his home county of San Berdoo, where he beat Robb 52 percent to 39 percent. But the overall vote was embarrassingly close for a poobah Republican in a slam-dunk GOP district running against a candidate who had no money — who didn't even have the endorsement of her own party. Perhaps Robb's gender and a strain of anti-incumbent fever gave Woodruff a little thwack upside the head.

DISTRICT 66 (35% D - 52% R)

Haynes	**R**	**75,588**	**(58%)**
Hockersmith	D	41,995	(32%)
Wood	P	9,349	(7%)
Reed	L	4,442	(3%)

The 66th District was supposed to be re-election playground for Republican incumbent Dave Kelley. But Kelley decided his future lay in the state Senate, thus vacating this Assembly district. The result was a GOP primary free-for-all that saw Ray Haynes defeat seven other candidates. Haynes, affiliated with the Christian right, used a $150,000 war chest to fend off Democrat Patsy Hockersmith, whose contributions amounted to less than $25,000. Haynes will be firmly in the conservatives' camp when he arrives in Sacramento.

DISTRICT 67 (35% D - 51% R)

D.Allen *	**R**	**90,006**	**(59%)**
LeBlanc	D	50,868	(33%)
Schar	L	11,913	(8%)

The most hotly contested Assembly primary of 1992 saw three GOP incumbents thrown in to the same Orange County stew: Tom Mays, Nolan Frizzelle and eventual winner Doris Allen. Allen earned the wrath of her opponents, not because she ran a nasty campaign but because she got scads of dough from the California Teachers Association, a group that normally throws in with Democrats. The money, plus Allen's reputation as a tenacious campaigner, proved the difference as she eked out a 400-vote victory over Mays, a freshman and the former mayor of Huntington Beach. Frizzelle finished a distant third. After such a grueling primary, the general election proved an afterthought. Although Ken LaBlanc talked bravely of an upset, the woefully underfunded Democrat managed but a third of the vote.

DISTRICT 68 (42% D - 46% R)

Pringle	**R**	**55,760**	**(57%)**
Rigney	D	42,789	(43%)

Democrats thought wistfully of making a run at Republican Curt Pringle this November but in the end decided to throw their resources elsewhere. Pringle, a former assemblyman, brought a ton of political baggage to the fray due to his use of uniformed guards to patrol polling places back during his first run for office in 1988. Those guards reportedly challenged Hispanic-looking voters, causing some of them not to vote. The candidate and his campaign were hammered in court over the incident, which left a strong distaste for Pringle in the mouths of area Republicans and Democrats alike. But Pringle, a staunch conservative, ran a solid primary campaign during which he captured 60 percent of the vote against two moderate women challengers. His impressive primary showing apparently convinced Assembly Democrats that Pringle was unassailable. In addition, they didn't think much of their own candidate, Linda Rigney, and so provided her with precious little help. Unlike some districts (see the 54th and 77th Assembly districts), there was no last-second ambush here. Pringle now joins the right wing of the Assembly GOP caucus.

DISTRICT 69 (54% D - 36% R)

Umberg *	**D**	**28,805**	**(60%)**
J.Allen	R	16,369	(34%)
Keller	L	2,874	(6%)

Republicans wanted this district. Ooooo, they wanted it bad bad bad. After all, Democrat Tom Umberg defeated an incumbent Republican in 1990 — former Assemblyman Curt Pringle (see District 68 above). Plus, this is Orange County, the place where Democratic hopes and dreams go to die. To have one of the enemy holding forth is a burr under the GOP's saddle. But Republicans flubbed what little chance they had for unseating Umberg when the Democrats' voter-registration drive netted 9397 new ballot-markers to their rolls between May and October, compared with only 1326 new Republicans. Although Republican Jo Ellen Allen

Umberg ***Allen, J.***

managed to raise more than $300,000, her fund raising fell short of Umberg's whopping $600,000 campaign chest. The race itself turned increasingly bitter toward the end as the two candidates met in a series of debates. Allen consistently accused Umberg of being a lackey of Assembly Speaker Willie Brown Jr., while Umberg cast Allen as "anti-woman" because of her connections to fundamentalist Christian anti-abortion groups and to the Eagle Forum founded by conservative crusader Phyllis Schlafly. Perhaps a more moderate candidate could have given Umberg more of a run. Then again, perhaps not. As race after race after race displayed, 1992 was not the Year of the Elephant.

DISTRICT 70 (30% D - 55% R)

Ferguson *	**R**	**87,852**	**(56%)**
Toledano	D	56,632	(36%)
Bieser	L	11,145	(7%)

Democrats registered nearly 11,000 new voters for their cause in this district between May and October, but Democrat Jim Toledano needed more than twice that many to make a dent in Republican incumbent Gil Ferguson's lead. Toledano now has the distinction of having lost to two different Assembly Republicans; in 1990 it was Nolan Frizzelle. This time around, he was thumped by Ferguson, despite having nearly matched the incumbent in fund raising.

DISTRICT 71 (29% D - 57% R)

Conroy *	**R**	**89,891**	**(62%)**
Foster	D	56,370	(39%)

Incumbent Mickey Conroy, who cut his political teeth running a statewide veterans' organization, made a credible showing in his first general election campaign. Conroy first won his seat in a 1991 special election to replace former Assemblyman John Lewis, who had been elected to the state Senate to replace John Seymour, who had been appointed to the U.S. Senate. Follow the trail? Democrat Bea Foster attracted a respectable chunk of the vote, given that she raised and spent less than $1000.

DISTRICT 72 (33% D - 55% R)

R.Johnson *	**R**	**78,775**	**(61%)**
Garza Jr.	D	42,822	(33%)
Braun	L	8,438	(7%)

Former Minority Leader Ross Johnson

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will return to an Assembly caucus firmly dominated by like-minded conservatives. Will that make him any happier in his job? Chances are not because Democrats will have an even firmer control of the entire house.

DISTRICT 73 (31% D - 54% R)

Morrow	**R**	**70,593**	**(54%)**
Walker	D	49,347	(38%)
King	L	6,229	(5%)
Steele	P	4,600	(4%)

Republican Bill Morrow won this seat in the primary when he bested fellow conservative Pat Bates after a tough campaign that saw legislative Republicans line up on opposite sides of the fray. Morrow had the backing of Senator Frank Hill and Assemblyman Ross Johnson; Bates was supported by Assemblyman Gil Ferguson. The primary campaign was so tough that Bates did not endorse Morrow until early October. Morrow, who now may be counted among the Assembly caucus' more conservative newcomers, was plugged into the money pipeline fed by the Christian right and by the anti-abortion movement. It provided him with more than enough to be beat a surprisingly strong effort from Democrat Lee Walker, a teacher at Saddleback College who once served as a political reporter. Walker ran seven points ahead of Democratic registration, but his campaign was hampered by a lack of money. He managed to raise less than $5000, compared with more than $90,000 poured into Morrow's coffers. Morrow won both counties included in the 73rd District, although Walker polled 40 percent of the vote from the San Diego portion.

DISTRICT 74 (31% D - 51% R)

Frazee *	**R**	**74,839**	**(55%)**
Lanzer	D	43,828	(32%)
Hunt	L	8,897	(7%)
Marcoux	P	7,644	(6%)

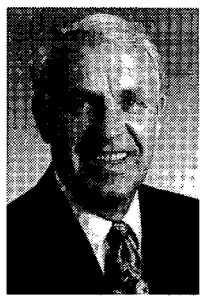
Voters in San Diego County have a knack for roughing up incumbents, and Republican Bob Frazee didn't escape a few hard knocks. Sure, Frazee was elected to his eighth term in the Assembly, but 45 percent of district voters cast ballots for someone else. Democrat Ken Lanzer acquitted himself well, despite spending less than $4000 and being outspent more than 15-to-one.

DISTRICT 75 (31% D - 52% R)

Goldsmith	**R**	**88,984**	**(64%)**
Cosentino	D	38,604	(28%)
Anderson	L	5625	(4%)
Tarr	G	3,496	(3%)
Felix	P	2,753	(2%)

Moderate Republican Jan Goldsmith, the former mayor of Poway, provided Governor Pete Wilson with his one bright spot on an otherwise dismal Election Day. Wilson backed Goldsmith throughout the year, including during his rugged primary victory over anti-abortion activist Connie Youngkin. Democrat Dante Cosentino was lost in the shuffle as his party concentrated its efforts on neighboring districts where Democratic candidates pulled off a string of upsets.

Gotch



Daleke

DISTRICT 76 (41% D - 42% R)

Gotch *	**D**	**78,581**	**(58%)**
Daleke	R	49,461	(36%)
Wright	L	4,927	(4%)
Worton	P	3,198	(2%)

If you're a Republican with a squeamish stomach, you may want to stop reading now, for most of the remaining districts provide a metaphor for the GOP's statewide catastrophe on Election Day. Except for the 79th District, where Republicans had no chance to unseat incumbent Democrat Steve Peace in a solid Democratic district, the story is one of disappointment and debacle for the GOP. We begin our tour of The Elephant's Inferno with the race between incumbent Democrat Mike Gotch and conservative Republican Dick Daleke. Republicans had high hopes of knocking off Gotch, especially when reapportionment handed him such a crummy district. But things began to go awry during the primary when the conservative Daleke knocked off moderate Ronnie Delaney, who had been backed by Governor Pete Wilson. Delaney's loss delighted Democrats, who felt Gotch would have a much easier time attracting cross-over votes from moderate Republicans and from independents against Daleke than he would have had against Delaney. That feeling was borne out when local supporters of independent presidential hopeful H. Ross Perot endorsed Gotch. Democrats also felt confident because reapportionment removed two neighborhoods from Gotch's old district that had voted for his opponent in 1990. Finally, Democrats were buoyed by their registration drive that put more than 9000 new voters into Gotch's cache, compared with only 5000 for the GOP. Gotch also outspent Daleke by nearly two-to-one. In the end, Democrats proved correct when they claimed that Daleke was too far to the right for a moderate GOP district with independent-minded voters who have never shown a propensity for party loyalty.

Connolly

Baldwin

DISTRICT 77 (39% D - 45% R)

Connolly	**D**	**58,760**	**(48%)**
Baldwin	R	53,604	(44%)
Bishop	L	7,402	(6%)
Kroopkin	P	1,870	(2%)

An ambush, pure and simple. And a re-confirmation of what may be described as a political formula: polls + possibilities + timing + hard cash = the big kahuna. It all came to fruition because San Diego legislative races now and then worm their way into the national consciousness. A few years ago, it was the special state Senate election between Democrat (now independent) Lucy Killea and Republican Carol Bentley when a Catholic bishop refused communion to Killea because of her pro-choice stance on abortion. This time, the race between Democrat Tom Connolly and Republican Steve Baldwin found its way onto NBC Nightly News and PBS' McNeil/Lehrer Report. The focus was Baldwin, who earned his political spurs organizing campaigns for fundamentalist Christians. In particular, it was a Baldwin speech, delivered in 1991, where the GOP candidate warned that Christianity was under attack and cited as evidence that, among others, the U.S. Air Force had an "official witch." Based on the speech, which had been taped, Democrats were able to portray Baldwin as an hysterical nincompoop. Of course, the speech was merely the set-up. The *coup d' campaign* was administered during the last week of October when private polls showed Connolly only five to seven points behind Baldwin. The closeness of the race ignited legislative Democrats, who then poured more than $200,000 into Connolly's campaign during the final week. Their effort was reminiscent of the 1990 race, also in San Diego, between Democrat Mike Gotch and incumbent Republican Jeff Marston. In that campaign, Democrats poured last-minute money and resources into Gotch's effort. When Marston appealed to Sacramento Republicans for help, he was told that since he was firmly ahead, Sacramento wasn't paying for a landslide. Marston, of course, lost. In the current campaign, the money for Connolly translated into hit piece after hit piece after hit piece, all aimed at Baldwin's extremism. Like Marston two years before, the Baldwin campaign, despite its

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pipeline to conservative money-givers, couldn't keep up. Local Republicans claimed that the election had been bought by Willie Brown, but Libertarian candidate Jeff Bishop disagreed. Bishop, who may have siphoned as many as 7000 votes from Baldwin, said *he* was responsible. And he was mighty gleeful about it, too.

Alpert

Marston

DISTRICT 78 (38% D - 44% R)

Alpert *	**D**	**76,250**	**(54%)**
Marston	R	57,371	(41%)
O'Brien	P	7,217	(5%)

Despite Republican losses in the 76th and 77th districts, it was the dual campaigns for the 78th and 80th districts that really exposed the breadth and depth of the Republicans' 1992 Waterloo. The conventional wisdom held that Democrats Mike Gotch (76th) and Tom Connolly (77th) stood better than even chances for victory in those GOP-leaning districts because Republicans had nominated candidates from the far right. Had the GOP nominees been moderates, so the reasoning went, they may have been able to win. But incumbent Democrat Deirdre Alpert's thrashing of moderate Republican Jeff Marston laid bare the true lack of Republican support throughout San Diego. Marston, a former assemblyman who lost his re-election bid to Gotch in 1990, seemed to have all the conventional assets going his way — registration, moderate views, a good fund-raising base. But 1992 was anything but a conventional year for Republicans, and Marston's defeat may be blamed on a number of factors. First, he never made a case that Alpert was inadequate as a legislator. In fact, she was hard-working and had paid close attention to her district throughout her two-year stint in Sacramento. Second, Alpert had experience running in unfriendly territory. Two years ago she upset long-time incumbent Republican Sunny Mojonnier in a district similar to the 78th. So her campaign never panicked over bad voter-registration numbers. Third, Alpert was a woman in a year — and in a locale — where her gender was an asset. Fourth was the strength shown in San Diego by presidential contender Bill Clinton, who became the first Democrat since Franklin Roosevelt in 1944 to carry San Diego County. Finally, Marston's primary opponent — conservative anti-abortion activist Dan Van Tiegham — qualified as a write-in candidate, although it is not yet known how many votes he managed to tear away from Marston. Marston's defeat proved a special home-turf setback for Governor Pete Wilson, who backed the GOP candidate with money and prestige.

DISTRICT 79 (55% D - 30% R)

Peace *	**D**	**43,389**	**(65%)**
Silva-Martinez	R	18,243	(28%)
Train	L	2,736	(4%)
Prud-Home	P	1,953	(3%)

A quiet campaign allowed incumbent Steve Peace to accomplish two things: re-election for his sixth term; and a helping hand to Democratic candidates in neighboring districts. Most specifically, it allowed him to ramrod Democratic efforts to help Tom Connolly defeat Steve Baldwin (see the 77th District).

DISTRICT 80 (48% D - 40% R)

Bornstein	**D**	**53,960**	**(51%)**
Hunter *	R	51,762	(49%)

This is the other race,with the 78th District, that provided the Republican Party's denouement in 1992. In the 78th, at least, it may be said that Republican Jeff Marston lost because he faced an incumbent woman, and anti-incumbent fever or no anti-incumbent fever, it often is difficult to knock off an incumbent who has done a decent job for her district. Given that notion, how do you explain what happened to Tricia Hunter? Incumbent Hunter moved from her San Diego County home in Bonita to the desert of Riverside County to run in this district, which stretches across the southern part of the state and includes a chunk of Riverside and all of Imperial counties. Although her old 76th District included some of this same desert, Hunter was seen as a San Diegan carpetbagging among the cacti — a message hammered home during a rough GOP primary by El Centro Councilman David Dhillon. With Hunter an unknown in Imperial County, Dhillon's primary effort may have succeeded in weakening the incumbent just enough to allow Democrat Julie Borenstein to slip through

Borentstein

Hunter

in a squeaker of a general election. Borenstein, an attorney from Palm Desert, declared early for the seat and appeared undaunted when the titular Democratic incumbent for this area — Democrat Steve Clute — decided to move to Palm Desert and run here rather than in the 64th District (which also had been part of his pre-reapportionment 68th District). But Borenstein was spared a divisive primary when Clute bowed out. That decision left her free to concentrate her resources for a final push in the fall. And although she eventually raised and spent over $250,000, she was swamped by Hunter's $650,000 war chest — most of it provided by Sacramento Republicans trying to save an incumbent who had been targeted by Democrats. With few issues dividing the two candidates (both, for instance, are pro-choice), the race may have turned on anti-incumbency and carpetbagging, especially in Imperial County. Borenstein, in an interesting turn, lambasted Hunter for voting for $7 billion in tax increases in 1991, and for supporting cuts in education funding in the 1992 budget. Those were tax increases and education cuts also supported by a large number of Assembly Democrats, who were fueling Borenstein's campaign treasury. Hunter, a close ally of Governor Pete Wilson, needed to dominate in Riverside County, especially in areas that were part of her old district. But Borenstein won the county, although her margin was a razor-thin 600 votes out of more than 80,000 cast. Imperial County, however, provided the Democrat with her cushion; she carried Imperial by 1600 votes.

★ ★ Partisan Makeup ★ ★

	Dems.	Repub.	Ind.
BEFORE			
Assembly	47	33	0
State Senate	24	13	2
House	26	19	0
AFTER			
Assembly	48	32	0
State Senate*	22	13	2
House	30	22	0

* = Three vacancies

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WASHINGTON PERSPECTIVE

By LARRY LIEBERT

Bill Clinton goes to Washington

"Clearly, gridlock is over," House Speaker Tom Foley proclaimed after Bill Clinton's election. Now that Democrats finally control both the White House and Congress, there is no reason — and no excuse — for the governmental paralysis that has gripped Washington in recent years. But neither is it clear that President-elect Clinton and the Democratic Congress will know how to control the enormous demand for action that has been pent up during 12 years of Republican rule.

IT IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF CHANGING PARTIES or programs in the White House but of exchanging philosophies. For a dozen years, the nation was guided by the anti-government philosophy of Ronald Reagan. Eventually, voters grew fed up with the extreme passivity of Reagan's successor, George Bush, toward domestic concerns and the stalled economy. But it was Reagan's brand of conservatism that had provided a rationale for federal inaction.

For all of Clinton's emphasis that he is a "new Democrat" who doesn't believe in taxing and spending his way out of every problem, the new president remains a Democrat nonetheless. That means he believes that government must play an active role in solving problems. And that alone sets a far higher level of expectations for his administration than the two that preceded it.

As Clinton and his aides attempt to lower the public's expectations for overnight successes, they also are groping toward a relationship with the sprawling, undisciplined, self-interested, many-tentacled creature that is the Congress. In this, Clinton's guiding principle doubtless is how not to repeat the disastrous performance of his Democratic predecessor, Jimmy Carter.

Comparisons are routinely made between Carter and Clinton as Southern governors who were thrust onto the far bigger, tougher playing field of Washington politics. What is more significant, however, is that Clinton, like Carter, is a centrist Democrat confronting a Congress still mired in New Deal habits of expansive government.

Carter, earnest but rigid and self-righteous, seldom tried to bargain with Congress. He also frittered away his political capital on a diffuse laundry list of initiatives such as government reorganization schemes. By contrast, Clinton is a quintessential politician who relishes political give-and-take. And he has vowed to "focus like a laser on the economy."

Invigorated by new possibilities, Congress may give Clinton a long and loving honeymoon. The key Democratic leaders — George Mitchell of Maine in the Senate and Foley of Washington and Majority Leader Richard Gephardt of Missouri in the House — are pragmatists who are hungry to chalk up accomplishments. They can be counted on to back Clinton whenever they can rally their rank-and-file to do so.

Congress can be counted on to rush Clinton's jobs program and tax changes to his desk — but perhaps only after powerful committee chairmen festoon them with billions of extra dollars in pork-barrel spending and special-interest tax breaks. If that happens, will Clinton pretend not to notice the costly ornaments? Or will he lay down the law in an early confrontation?

And Congress may move much more rapidly to enact Clinton's promised tax break for the middle class than to impose the spending cuts needed to deliver on his promise of deficit reduction. Will Clinton demand that the pleasure and pain be inextricably yoked so that both take immediate effect?

Democratic control of Washington doesn't mean Republican influence has been altogether eliminated. As Republicans jockey for control of their battered party's future, their most powerful representative will be Senate Minority Leader Bob Dole of Kansas. The sharp-tongued, dark-tempered Dole is perfectly cast as the Grinch who will probe the political weak points of Clinton's agenda, although Dole always risks coming off as a snarling spoiler.

Although Dole has said that "everyone wants to get the new president off to a good start," he has also argued that Clinton has no mandate. Dole has offered himself as a "watchdog" for the 57 percent who voted for Bush or independent Ross Perot. If Clinton is to have a honeymoon, Dole taunted that he will come along as a chaperone.

It is easy to imagine a Republican filibuster in the Senate to call unwelcome attention to the tax increases in Clinton's economic plan. Clinton's abortion rights stand may also be a flashpoint for conflict with Republicans.

Another may be Clinton's promise to permit gays in the military. He can make that change by executive order, but Congress could block it by attaching an amendment to some must-pass bill. The issue seems a natural for North Carolina Senator Jesse Helms, a Republican who in the past has rallied members of both parties behind anti-pornography amendments.

AND CLINTON MAY BE IN FOR A FAR FIERCER battle than he imagines if he is serious about keeping his promise to enact a presidential line-item veto, which Reagan and Bush sought in vain. Of California's two new Democratic senators, Dianne Feinstein supports and Barbara Boxer opposes giving the president this selective veto of individual spending items embedded in legislation.

The line-item veto would give the president an awesome new weapon against the pork-barrel spending that Congress now forces on the White House, but it would also mean a radical shift in power from the legislative to the executive branch. Any effort to enact a line-item veto would mean all-out war between Clinton and Senate Appropriations Committee Chairman Robert Byrd, a West Virgina Democrat and the fierce if unctuous guardian of Congress' traditions and powers.

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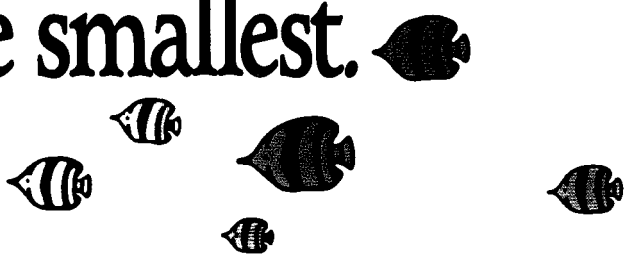

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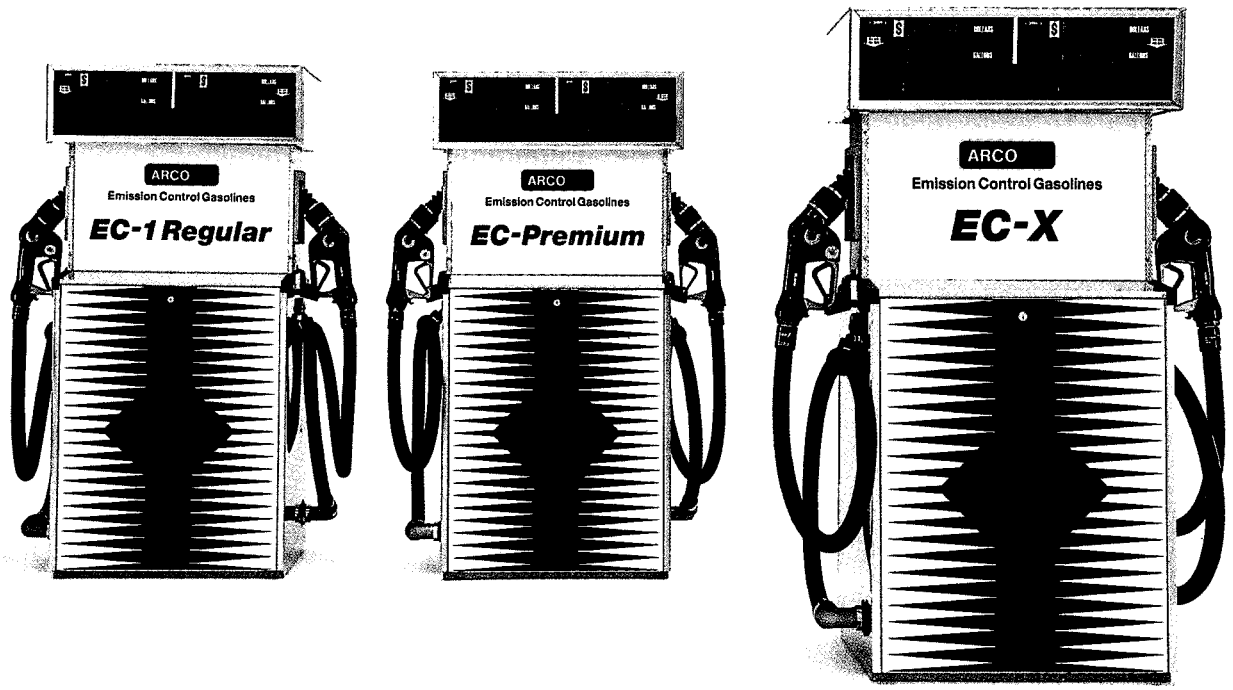

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